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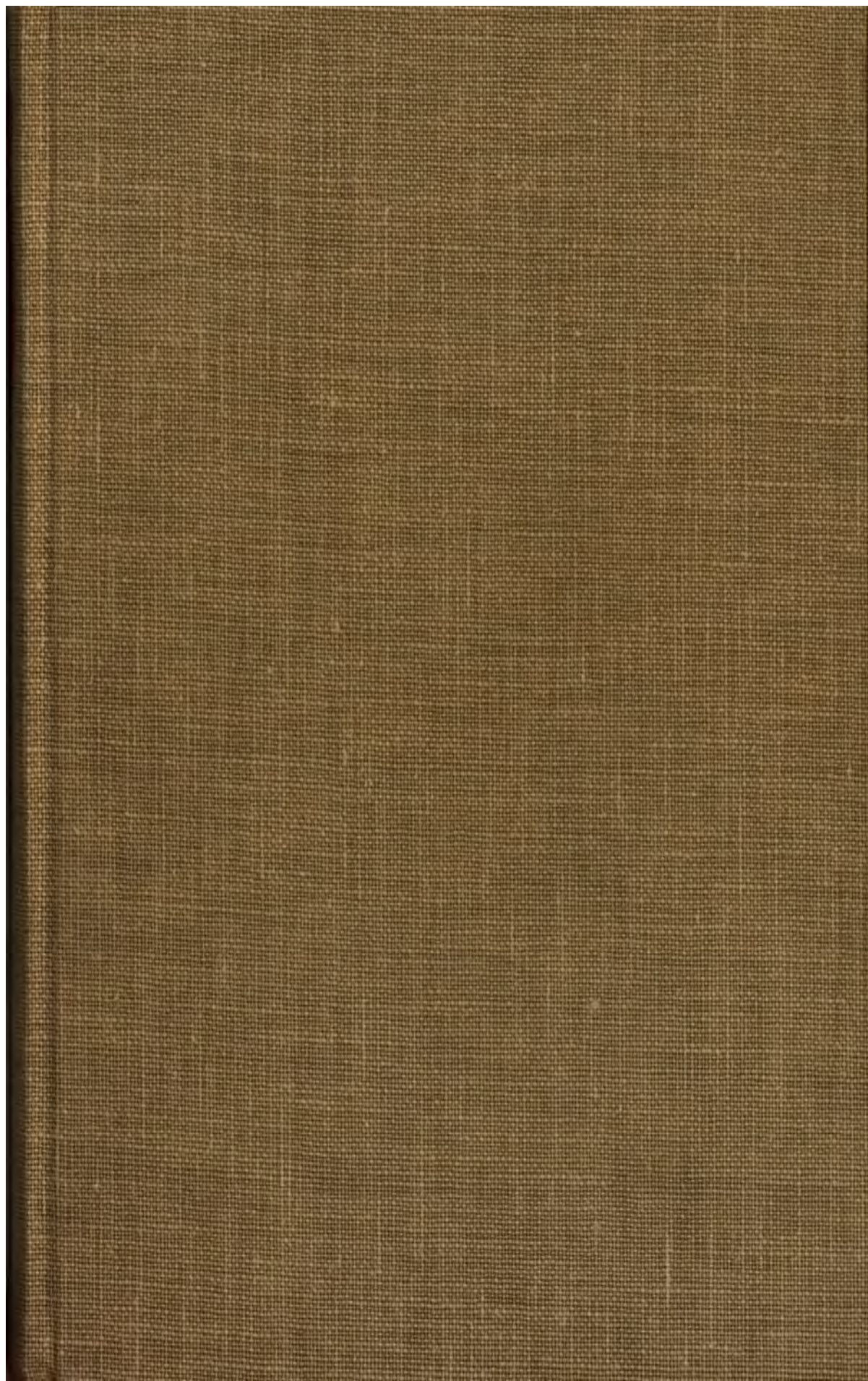
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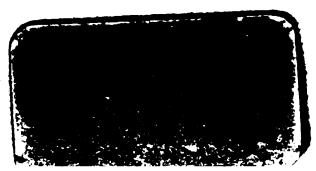
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E. 8

A GIFT
OF THE REVEREND
THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D. D.,
TO THE
DIVINITY SCHOOL,
28 November, 1838.

HARVARD
DIVINITY
SCHOOL
*Andover-Harvard
Theological Library*



AN
APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC,
ON
THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING
THE
REVOLUTION IN HARVARD COLLEGE,
AND
THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE FOLLOWED IT;
OCCASIONED
BY THE USE WHICH HAS BEEN MADE OF CERTAIN COMPLAINTS
AND ACCUSATIONS
OF
MISS HANNAH ADAMS,
AGAINST THE AUTHOR.

BY JEDIDIAH MORSE, D.D.

Little things become important, when men of importance will condescend to make them so.

“Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth.” *An Apostle,*

CHARLESTOWN;
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1814.

S.C.R.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE given to this publication the Title which it bears, because it is the true one, and correctly indicates its nature and design. The *use* which has been made of the groundless complaints and accusations of Miss HANNAH ADAMS, by my adversaries in this controversy, has undoubtedly led to this publication; and the *Revolution* in the religious character of Harvard College, is the prominent event, which has imparted so much importance to these complaints, as to justify it. This will be considered, as it is in fact, a strange association of things; and the correctness of my thus connecting them will doubtless be called in question. Evidence of such connection, however, sufficient to satisfy unprejudiced minds, will be found in the following pages. Had there been no such revolution in the College, or no opposition to it—no publication at the time concerning it, on my part; the public would never have heard of any of these complaints and accusations of Miss ADAMS. They would have been, for a short time, perhaps, topics of remark among a few of her particular friends; been explained and amicably terminated at the period of their occurrence, and have passed silently down the tide of time, with the events of every day. This is my opinion; and if I do not misjudge, this will be the opinion of all who shall have impartially examined the evidence contained in this book. If so, such connection of these complaints with the revolution in the College; and, I may add, with the religious controversy of the present times, as I have stated, is proved; for no other contemporary events can be named, which could have imparted to these complaints the importance which they have possessed.

Besides, this deep and ingenious policy of assailing the *principles* of the orthodox, by attempting to fix a stigma on their *moral character*, is not original. It has been borrowed from the *Arians* of the fourth century. It is precisely the mode of attack which they devised and pursued against the orthodox of their times.

The Arians, at the period alluded to, according to Milner, "opposed the real faith of Christ," by charging its advocates and defenders with the most heinous crimes; and "*enmity to the doctrine of the TRINITY*," prompted these charges.* Enmity to the same doctrine, it will appear, has prompted to the charges, which I have thought it my duty here to expose before the public.

* See p. 130, 131, of this pamphlet.

I am aware of the alarm which the title of this book will excite, and its contents perhaps increase; and of the cry that will be raised against me, by many voices, on account of what they will call, *an attack upon the College*. I was once before charged with the same offence, at the time when I found it necessary publicly to repel the calumnies, which were propagated concerning me, on account of the interest I took in the election of Professor WARE. But in neither case is the charge well founded. The design of both pamphlets is the same; the vindication of my own character against unworthy and malignant attacks; and this in order to vindicate the *truths*, which these attacks were intended to discredit. Neither can give just offence to the real friends of the College. So far as they relate to that Institution, their object is, to expose what are conceived to be very important and dangerous errors in its *administration*; to point the public eye to the *perversion* of its funds; to the change in its religious character; and to excite a just and necessary alarm, in respect to the *consequences* of these changes upon the state of religion and morals, within the sphere of its influence.* These are the ends I have in view to accomplish; and *no other*. I am the friend of that ancient and venerable Institution, as *it was* in the days of President WILLARD, and during the long line of his predecessors, from the beginning; as I am the friend of the present Constitution of the United States, as it was administered by the immortal WASHINGTON. But the changes which have taken place in the *administration*, both of the one, and of the other, I can never approve; because in both cases, I consider these changes radically wrong, and destructive of the best interests of the church and the country. The cases are parallel, and the effects ultimately the same. If then I should be asked, by the advocates of the changes alluded to, as I have been indeed, why I do not "rally round the College," and join in support of the measures

* The following observations of Mr. MILNER, who was a competent judge in the case, are in point to show the nature of these consequences.

"The influence of anti-evangelical doctrines on the practice, is but too evident. Those who espouse them, if preserved in rectitude of moral conduct, are among themselves at this day the proudest of men. Even when they attempt to be humble, the power of pride breaks forth, and bears down all before it. They feel sufficient for any thing; no subject of religion is too hard for their understandings. In all disputable questions, they are sure to decide in that way which most gratifies vain glory and self conceit. The ministers of this stamp, however low and limited in capacity and education, are continually exercising the most unbounded, and often the most ridiculous arrogance. They are apt to wonder that the common people have no ears for them; they do not consider that they themselves have no voice for the people. The views of God, of Christ, and human nature, which they exhibit, suit not the vulgar taste. They contradict experience; and it is not to be wondered at, that those of their hearers who have any reasonable modesty, and the least tincture of humility, cannot relish their discourses, because the only food which is adapted to the taste of a miserable sinner, is not ministered to them. Deserted by the populace, they betake themselves to the great. The favour of a few of the higher rank compensates to them the want of regard from the multitude; and if they cannot boast of numerous congregations, they console themselves at least with the thought, that theirs are genteel. Vol. I. p. 505.

PREFACE.

of its present government? I ask them in turn, why they do not rally round the national government, and support the measures of the present administration? The reply they would make to this question, is my reply to theirs. In neither case, is there any hostility or disaffection manifested toward the *Institutions* themselves; but only toward the *measures* of those who administer their affairs. The rights and duties of the minority, in both cases, I consider the same. If it be correct for the minority in the government of the United States, to expose and counteract, with all their strength, such measures of the majority, as they think ruinous to the country; for the same reasons, it is correct for the minority in the government of the University, to expose and counteract, with all their ability and influence, such measures of the majority, as they conscientiously consider to be subversive of the vital interests of religion. In neither of these cases, provided their opposition is made with decency and a proper spirit, are the minority to be considered, as acting an unfriendly part toward the respective Institutions, the *administration* of which only their opposition is intended to affect. On this ground I take my stand. I am a sincere and unalienable friend to the College, *as it was* in its origin, and design, and as it continued to be, till the death of President WILLARD. I am decidedly opposed to the revolution in the *religious character* of this Institution, which has since been effected, and to the measures which have been subsequently adopted to perpetuate this change, and to direct the whole influence of the College *against* the very doctrines which it was founded to *support*. Though the opposers of this revolution, and of these measures, are at present the *minority* in the government of this important Institution, I have strong confidence, that the time is not far distant, when they will have the *majority* on their side. Then, under the direction of a good Providence, a purified administration will bring back this seminary of science, with all its accumulated *wealth and scientific improvements*, to its primitive foundation, and consecrate its whole influence once more, sincerely and honestly, "TO CHRIST AND THE CHURCH."

The peculiar circumstances in which I make this publication, render it necessary that I should state explicitly my design. And it is, I can assure the public, less to vindicate *myself*, than the *truth*; and the *former* only for the sake of the *latter*. The attacks made on my reputation, I consider as aimed *ultimately* at the doctrines, which I defend. I repel these personal attacks in defence of these doctrines. If my reputation only had been affected by these slanderous attacks, I should have borne them in silence, as unworthy of public notice. If, therefore, *personal* disputes are mingled in this controversy, it is not my work, but that of my adversaries. I am constrained to take things as I find them. I must act according to circumstances. I am permitted in

this contest to choose, neither the ground, nor the mode, nor the weapons, of warfare. Could I have had my choice in these things, I would have had no *ambush* contention; no *Cambysean* management;* the place of action should have been the open field; the grounds of the contest should have been frankly stated, and clearly understood. Fair arguments should have been the only weapons used on either side. Nothing dishonourable, or mean, or cowardly should have disgraced the conflict.

It has ever been among the arts of error to "*strike, but to conceal the hand;*" to put forward *ostensible* causes, to cover the *real* ones; to hold out false colours; to ascribe the conduct of those who dare to expose error, to unworthy motives. Such is the precise nature of the present controversy. To clear away the extraneous matter, which has been ingeniously mingled in it, for the purpose of disguising its real nature, has been a principal object of this Appeal. The public will perceive from the documents before them, that this is not a contest, on the part of Dr. PARISH and myself, with Miss ADAMS. Attempts will doubtless be made, for obvious purposes, so to represent it. An intelligent public, however, will easily see through the *artifice*; and in the light of the evidence herein exhibited, discern clearly the parties actually engaged in managing this controversy, and the real points which divide them.

Another object, which I have had in view, in making this Appeal, has been to expose the *spirit* of the opposers of the orthodox faith; the *spirit* which is naturally produced by every such defection from the faith, as has recently taken place in this region. For this purpose I have submitted to the tedious labour of exhibiting and tracing the *protean* shapes, and operations, in which this spirit has made itself visible, in the management of Miss ADAMS's complaints.

I am warned that this publication will raise a formidable host against me, combining wealth, talents and influence. Be it so. With this same host, in *ambush*, I have been forced to contend, in self defence, for the last nine years. The only change which this publication will produce, in regard to myself, and which it is its principal design to effect, will be, to deprive this host of their *shelter*, and of their unmanly weapons; and to compel them to show themselves in proper armour, in the open field. If this object shall have been effected, I shall have no fears as to the issue of this contest, let the opposing host be ever so formidable. Besides, if the cause which I am defending by this publication, is the cause of *truth* and of God, it cannot be overthrown. The Lord of hosts will defend and support those, who honestly engage to vindicate it, and will ultimately give them the victory. If I am deceived, and it is not His cause, I pray that it may not prosper. In any event, therefore, I shall be contented.

* See p. 14. Note.

If I should dare publicly to vindicate myself against the slanderous attacks made on my character, in consequence of the complaints of Miss ADAMS, I have been threatened to my face, with an attack from "a hundred pens, wielded by as many able hands, to *write me down*." But this threat has produced in me no misgivings; no fear; knowing as I do, that *one pen*, with the blessing of God, is able to defend a *good cause*, against the attacks of an hundred, even should they be wielded with the utmost human skill, and every one of them be dipt in gall. The defense of this cause, however, is not left to a single pen. A host is prepared for the conflict, whenever it shall seriously commence.

I am told this publication will probably prove to an investigation, and to an exposure of other, and private, transactions of my life, which, though they may have no immediate connection with the subjects now in controversy, will yet be brought up, distorted and misrepresented, for the purposes merely of wounding my feelings and character, and giving me the labour of a continued defence. That some of my adversaries are capable of *descending* to such a course of conduct, I have good reason to believe, from what they have already done in this way.* Whether they will choose to pursue this course in future, remains to be known. If they should; though I will never sanction with my consent and approbation a practice, which I think unjust and tyrannical, a violation of every correct principle, and subversive of the order and harmony of society; yet, in my own case, I will even submit to be interrogated by my adversaries in this controversy, on this self-evidently just condition, that they shall submit themselves to be interrogated by me, in turn, on their religious opinions; on the manner in which they have attempted to propagate them; the means they have used for this purpose; on the management of their official and their private affairs; and on their personal truth. If they will yield to this, I will consent, on my part, to answer any questions they may think proper to ask, with respect to my character, my official or private transactions, and on every other subject, which can accuse me, from my birth to this day. If this condition be refused, the equity of their conduct I leave to the judgment of the impartial public.†

I am aware of the delicate and responsible situation in which I am placed, in consequence of the peculiar nature of this controversy. It has not been an easy task to disengage myself from the toils of my wily adversaries. It has given me much pain, to be obliged, in my own defence, and for the defence, as I conceive, of the truth, to speak of Miss ADAMS in the manner I have done in this Appeal. Whether or not her conduct will justify me in

* See p. 77, Note.

† For the hint, and in great part for the language, of the foregoing proposal, I am indebted to the late Dr. WITHERSPOON.

so doing, I am willing the public should judge, upon the evidence that is, or may hereafter be, before them. It has been trying to my feelings to speak of myself so often, and in the way I have been constrained to do, in the circumstances in which I have been placed: and perplexing also, to know how to feel and to express myself, in reference to the contumelious treatment of some of my adversaries.

The decision, or, to speak more correctly, the *indecision* of the Referees, has created for me much solicitude and perplexity. Respect for their characters, their talents, and offices, constrains me to bear in silence the very painful effects, which have resulted from the ambiguous and indefinite manner in which they have chosen to express themselves in their Award, and in all their subsequent communications on the subject. The reader is requested to examine, with *particular attention*, these documents, in connection with the explanations which accompany them. On this head, I have only to add, that I have honestly and conscientiously endeavoured to do what appeared to be my duty, in respect to Miss ADAMS. I should have been glad, at any time, to have been *generous* to her; to have *given* her, (though in my opinion, and that of my most judicious friends, I have done her no injustice whatever,) the full amount of her own demands; the full amount even of the extravagant demands of Mr. HIGGINSON;* *provided* Miss ADAMS, the Referees, and my adversaries would have permitted me thus to have done, *consistently with a due respect for my own character, as a man and a Christian*.

Finally, In the very trying circumstances in which I have been placed, I have sought wisdom to direct me, superior to my own, superior to all that is human; and have endeavoured, discreetly and justly, to mingle prudence and fidelity, severity and gentleness, in the course which I have pursued, in my defence. In every step, I have aimed to keep a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men.

The effects of this publication cannot be foreseen. As they shall respect myself personally, I have no solicitude. As they may affect the interests of religion, I hope they may be such, as I can contemplate, not only without self reproach, but with satisfaction.

In conducting this arduous, delicate, and perplexing controversy, involving such a variety of interests and characters, I have been governed by a maxim of one of the wisest of our living statesmen.† “DO YOUR DUTY, AND LEAVE TO GOD THE CONSEQUENCES.”

CHARLESTOWN, May 5, 1814.

* Page 80.

† Gov. JAY.

INTRODUCTION.

To assist the Reader to form a correct idea of this controversy, and for this purpose to read understandingly the following mingled mass of documents, a few preliminary Remarks are necessary.

The events and transactions which gave rise to this controversy, are of the ordinary class, such as take place every day, without interrupting or impairing, especially for any length of time, the friendly intercourse of life. They have derived, as I conceive, all their importance and influence to injure my reputation, from misapprehension, and misrepresentation of them, by persons moving in the higher walks of life, from palpable *falsehoods* growing out of them; and from *coexisting* circumstances, which doubtless, in some instances, prompted to these misrepresentations and falsehoods; and in others *prepared the way for the too favourable reception of them*. It is thus that these things have acquired an importance and influence, to injure reputation, which have seemed to demand and justify the notice they have received. Ordinarily, such calumnies are best confuted by disregard and silence. And this course many of my judicious and highly valued friends have advised me to pursue in the present case, from the, perhaps too flattering, consideration that any vindication against such slanders, on my part, was altogether unnecessary. I have dissented from these friends in this opinion with reluctance and diffidence. I have honestly believed that the existing state of things imperiously demanded from me this public Appeal. Events will show whether or not I have judged wisely. I make no claims to infallibility. The following advice of the celebrated Chrysostom, to his brethren in the ministry, in my opinion is judicious and worthy of regard.

“As for groundless and unreasonable accusations (for such a Christian bishop must expect to meet with) it is not right either excessively to fear them, or absolutely to despise them. He should rather endeavour to stifle them, be they ever so false, and the authors of them ever so despicable; for both a good and a bad report is increased by passing through the hands of the multitude, who are not accustomed to examine, but to propagate every thing they hear, whether true or false. Therefore we are not to despise them, but to nip those evil surmises in the bud; speak friendly to those who raise them, be their characters ever so bad; *omit nothing that may remove this wrong impression of*

us. *And if, after all, they persist to defame us, we may then despise them.*"

It is not easy so to place the Reader, so to surround him with the circumstances in which the events and transactions alluded to took place, as to enable him to form a correct opinion concerning them; and some of them, which have had no small influence in this controversy, I am constrained, from particular considerations, to leave wholly out of sight. The following facts and their dates, however, will assist the reader, who knows how to estimate their importance, and consequences, to understand the following documents.

1. Early after my settlement in this place, during the last half of the year 1789, I was *insidiously* sounded, as to my sentiments concerning the doctrine of the TRINITY; and subsequently gave serious offence to some of my brethren in the Ministry, by preaching a course of sermons on that controverted subject, at the Thursday lecture. This was followed by a *concerted* plan to attack my *Geography*, which was *partially* executed in the Summer of 1793, by the Rev. Dr. FREEMAN, in a pamphlet which he at that time published, containing "Remarks," on that work.* Opposition to this work has since shown itself in many ways, which it is not necessary here to state.

2. The series of great political events, which commenced about this time, (1793) connected as they were with the alarming spread of infidelity in our country, swallowed up many important differences on other points, and combined all good patriots and professed Christians, in one grand effort to save their country, and to defend the great *outworks* of their common Christianity. During this very interesting period, which lasted till about the year 1804, persecution, from the sources whence it had previously, and has subsequently proceeded, in a great measure ceased. So long as measures of common concern were pursued—measures which were consonant to the views and promotive of the designs of my present opposers, so long I received their support and their civil and respectful treatment. In all this period of ten or twelve years, of constant and intimate intercourse, when it is believed my dispositions and character were the same and as fully disclosed, as they have since been, not a whisper of any thing like the charges which have since been made, ever came to my ear. Judging from the opinions and treatment of my adversaries, there must have suddenly taken place an almost total change in my disposition and habits of life, *just at the time, when my opposition commenced* to their favourite project of taken possession of the College, for the purpose of making it an engine to establish

* That this public vindication of the *Trinity*, with some other facts of the same nature, particularly the exposure of a *mutilated* edition of Watts's Divine Songs, occasioned this attack upon my *Geography*, I had evidence at the time to satisfy my own mind.

"*liberal and rational Christianity*," on the ruins of the *Orthodox faith*. In such circumstances, to attribute to me so sudden and great a change of character, was not indeed very consistent with the *theory of liberal men*, but is entirely consistent with their *practice*.

3. In September, 1804, the "*Compendious History of New-England*," which is the *ostensible* ground of this controversy, was published by Dr. PARISH and myself, in the circumstances stated in their place.

4. About this period commenced, in the newspapers, the controversy on the subject of filling the vacancy in the chair of Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. The question, which divided the parties in this controversy was, what should be the *religious* faith of the candidate? One party contended that he must, in conformity to the statutes of the founder, be "*sound or orthodox*" in his religious faith; or, in other words, of the faith of his predecessors in office, and of the founders of the College; and that other considerations, particularly the existing state of parties in the Commonwealth, imperiously demanded, that a Professor of such a character, should be chosen. The other party gave a different interpretation to these statutes, and contended that a man of different, and more *liberal* opinions, might consistently be elected, and that it was now expedient to choose such a man.

5. Professor WARE was accordingly elected to his present office of Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, Feb. 14, 1805.

6. The Proposals for publishing the *PANOPLIST* were issued the beginning of April, following, and the first number of that work appeared in June 1805.

7. In August 1805, the story of the manuscript, as it is called, or of my having received and dishonourably used Miss ADAMS's MS. abridgment of her History, originated and began its circulation.

8. In March 1806, Rev. Dr. PEARSON resigned his office of Professor in the University at Cambridge. This was among the first fruits of the Revolution in the religious character of the College.*

9. Immediately after the resignation of Dr. PEARSON, the plan of a Theological Institution at Andover, began to be the subject of conversation, which issued in its final establishment and organization in its present form, in the autumn of 1808. The design of this Institution was *mistakenly* considered, as unfriend-

* Among the reasons which he assigned to the Overseers, for resigning his office, were the following—

"Such a gloom is spread over the University, and such is my view of its internal state and external relations, and of its radical and constitutional maladies, as to alarm all my fears, and exclude the hope of rendering any essential service to the interests of religion by continuing my connection with it."

ly to the interests and prosperity of Harvard College. On this ground it was opposed, with much zeal and bitterness; and its projectors and patrons were *unjustly* considered and treated, as hostile to the University, particularly by gentlemen who have since been foremost in the ranks of my adversaries.

With these events and their dates in his mind; and a knowledge, that I took a very deep interest in the success of those plans which have been mentioned; and also of the persons, connections and influence of my accusers, the Reader will readily account for what he will find in the following pages; nor will he be at a loss how to estimate the weight and importance of the complaints and charges herein exhibited against me.

APPEAL, &c.

THE FOLLOWING "APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC," WHICH BRINGS INTO VIEW THE LEADING TOPICS EMBRACED IN THE LONG AND FRIVOLOUS CONTROVERSY, THE DETAILS OF WHICH ARE DEVELOPED IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES, APPEARED IN THE CENTINEL OF MARCH 2d. 1814.

REV. DR. MORSE'S APPEAL.

IN admitting this Appeal into the *Centinel*, we wish to have it distinctly understood, that we are no party whatever to the subject in dispute. But *Dr. Morse*, having expressed himself as greatly injured, and appealing to our *independence*, as well as *impartiality*, to admit his Appeal, we pledged ourselves to comply with his request; with this understanding, that should any reply, with real names, be made of equal length to his Appeal, it should also appear in the *Centinel*; and that after these two articles had been given, no more on the subject should be admitted into our pages. These remarks, we trust, will be satisfactory to all, as it respects *ourselves*; and we doubt not it would be more consonant to the feelings of the great majority of the friends of both parties, should they give their future remarks in the form of a *pamphlet*.
Editor of the Centinel.

TO THE PUBLIC.

IN August, 1805, a story originated in Cambridge from one of the students of the College, who declared he had it from Miss HANNAH ADAMS herself, of the following purport, *vis.* "That Miss H. ADAMS, having abridged her Summary 8vo. *History of New-England*, published in 1799, put her MS. into my hands for my inspection, as a friend; that while it was in my possession, I, without her knowledge or consent, made an abstract of its contents, or culled from it such articles as she had obtained from old MS. records with great labour, at the expense of her eyesight; that having done this, I returned her MS. with my approbation of it, and advised her to publish it; that from materials so dishonourably obtained, Dr. PARISH and myself immediately compiled a work similar to her MS. abridgment; and published it before Miss A. was able to put hers to the press, and thus in *fact*, if not in *design*, interfered with the sale of hers, thwarting her reasonable expectations of gain, and ungenerously encroaching on her rights."

This story, so injurious to my reputation, though promptly and fully contradicted by Miss ADAMS herself, in her letter to Dr. HOLMES, of Sept. 1805, and very many times by myself and others; strange as it may well seem, has *ever since* been in circulation extensively through New-England, especially in Boston and vicinity; and is still repeated and believed; and that too,

chiefly among the supporters and particular friends of Miss ADAMS, where, it might have been expected, it would long ago have been effectually contradicted; so inveterate and obstinate is the spirit which prompted, and which has fostered, this convenient and ingeniously contrived calumny. In these circumstances, having tried, in vain, all other expedients, an appeal to the laws of my country only excepted, to vindicate my character, I am reluctantly constrained, at length, in this public manner, to declare, that the story above related is a SHEER FABRICATION; that IT CONTAINS NOT A SINGLE PARTICLE OF TRUTH.

The facts concerning this Compendious History of New-England, which the story represents, as for substance a *plagiarism* from Miss ADAMS's MS. Abridgment, are as follows: The body of this work, at the request of Mr. DOBSON, of Philadelphia, was prepared for his edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, and was published, in a supplement to that work, about the year 1802. At the suggestion of Judge DAVIS, and by the particular approbation and advice of other respectable gentlemen in Boston, with the consent of Mr. DOBSON, it was published the beginning of Sept. 1804, in its present form, to aid the professed design of "*The Feast of Shells*," viz, to cherish the memory of our pious forefathers, and prompt the rising generation to imitate their virtues. I knew not, until after all this, until about a fortnight after our Compendious History was advertised for sale, that Miss A. had ever contemplated abridging her 8vo. history. She then herself, in the only interview I ever had with her on this subject, informed me, that she had "*sketched a plan* of such an abridgment for schools; "and asked me," whether I was willing she should publish such a book?" I promptly answered that I was perfectly willing; and she afterward wrote to Dr. PARISH on the subject, and received from him a satisfactory answer. In compiling our Compendious History, no use was made of Miss ADAMS's Summary 8vo. history, published four years before, other than was perfectly consistent with the strictest propriety and honour, as the works themselves will evince to any one who will take the pains to compare them. The charge of *plagiarism* is wholly groundless.

In regard to the MS. abridgment, which the story represents as handed to me by Miss A. for my inspection, it was not written, till more than *six months* after our work was before the public; she never handed me her MS. it was never in my possession; I never saw it; nor in any way did I ever derive a particle of information from it. So entirely destitute of truth is this story, in every part of it.

If any are disposed to inquire for what purpose this story was fabricated and circulated at *that particular time*, the public can be informed, if it be necessary, and they shall ask it.

I further state, that for the first fifteen years after my settlement in this place, and until the publication of the Compendious

History above mentioned, or in other words, as long as I was *permitted*, I was in the habit of assisting Miss ADAMS and her aged father in their various literary pursuits, as she herself has acknowledged, and was numbered among her friends. In making the publication of the Compendious History, my only alleged offence, I had not the remotest intention to interfere with any of her plans or interests; her plan of abridging her history was, as already stated, wholly unknown to me; nor am I now convinced, that she has ever had any reason to complain of my conduct toward her on this, or any other account. I know I have never *intentionally* given her the slightest occasion of offence. I think her complaints altogether groundless, and that she herself would have long ago been of the same opinion, had she permitted herself, or rather had her advisers permitted her, to be made acquainted with the real state of *facts*. I rest this opinion with entire confidence, on that of three very respectable gentlemen, REFEREES, in this affair, who have had a full view of the subject, and on the opinion given by men, equally respectable and impartial, on the written opinion or award of these Referees.

I am constrained, with real reluctance, to communicate to the public another, and to me a very important fact; because no other way is left me to vindicate my character against a *secret attack*, a knowledge of which has very recently been obtained, and the effects of it are known to be extensive, and wounding in no common degree. The fact is this. Early in the year 1805, a few months only after our Compendious History was published, Miss ADAMS, at the request of WILLIAM S. SHAW, Esq. addressed to him a letter, which is now in my possession, containing a sketch of her own life, particularly of her sufferings; in which she relates, among other things, in her own way, the circumstances in which the forementioned works were made and published. This narrative, written expressly for the purpose of being *privately* circulated among my respectable acquaintances; and which has been so circulated, to what extent I know not, contains declarations, representations, and insinuations, which impeach my honour, my integrity and my veracity, and calculated, of course, as far as they shall have obtained credit, to destroy my character and usefulness. This narrative, after *eight years* *SECRET* operation, has lately,* for the first time, come to my knowledge, and, after much difficulty,† into my possession. Having called on Miss ADAMS by a letter, which she received the 2d inst. to do me justice for the injury she has thus done me, and, I am sorry to add, called in vain, I am compelled, in *self defence*, to declare, that the narrative aforesaid, so far as it relates what passed at an interview between Miss ADAMS and myself, and describes my conduct toward her, is a *glaring misrepresentation and mistatement of facts*; and contains *insinuations that are false and highly offensive*.

* Oct. 1812.

† Nov. 1812.

I further, and finally declare, without fear of contradiction, that all the complaints and statements of Miss ADAMS, contained in the aforesaid narrative, or in any other way made by herself, or her friends, which have any *injurious* bearing on my character, so far as relates to the transaction in question; are *destitute of any substantial foundation, and in their nature slanderous.*

JEDIDIAH MORSE.

Charlestown, Feb. 22, 1814.

ANSWER TO THE REV. DR. MORSE'S APPEAL, IN THE LAST
CENTINEL.

The Rev. Dr. MORSE having exhibited a number of charges, which deeply affect my character, I am constrained to ask the attention of the public to a brief reply. If it shall appear, that his accusations are all unfounded, it will not be thought a slight aggravation of his original injury, that he compels a feeble woman to take a step so foreign to the feelings and habits of her sex. He begins by declaring, that a report *has been and is now in circulation among my friends*, which charges him with a breach of confidence, in making an improper use of manuscripts confided by me to his care. He could not, however, be ignorant, that this is not the fact: 1st, because he knows, that when I was informed many years ago, that such a statement of his conduct had been made, I instantly disavowed it by a letter, to which he refers, in the strongest terms possible; 2dly, because he knows, that nothing like this charge was made in the statement exhibited to the Referees: 3dly, and *especially*, because he knows, that in the statement, which he accuses me of privately circulating for eight years past, not the least hint of such a charge is given. This report, now that he has published it, I find to be wholly new to most of my "supporters and particular friends." Why, then, has Dr. M. brought it forward? Those who are familiar with the resorts of controvertists, will understand the convenience of setting up and contradicting an erroneous statement, to keep out of sight the real one.* The circumstances which occasioned this controversy with Dr. MORSE are these: I published a History of New-England in 1799. The public were pleased to regard my humble attempt with some degree of favour. The book however was too large for the use of the young: and I was employed, in the course of the year 1804, in abridging it,

* Though I disclaim any agency in bringing forward a charge against Dr. M. in the form in which he states it, yet I cannot absolve him from blame in regard to the use he made of my published work, taken in connection with the manner in which he mentions it in the Preface to his History. The injury done me in this respect made part of the statement given to the Referees, which was noticed in their award in terms satisfactory to me.

when I heard that my labours were to be rendered useless, by the publication by Drs. M. and P. of their Compendious History. As the expected profits of my abridgment were at that time essential to my support, I conceived that the publication of Dr. M. would be a severe injury to me. He says, that he was ignorant of my intention. But might not he, who had abridged his own work on Geography, and again abridged that abridgment, have supposed, that I too might wish to avail myself of a similar privilege? I stated to Dr. M. my feelings on this subject. He tells the public, that he assured me of his perfect willingness, that I should publish my abridgment also. Of his regard to consistency in this representation, the public will form an opinion from the following extract of his letter, Sept. 26, 1804, received soon after the conversation, to which he alludes, and of which he suppresses all mention in his appeal: "I have since mentioned the subject of our conversation to my partner, Rev. Mr. Parish, who appears not altogether pleased with the idea, *as it will look too much like rivalry*, and might PROVOKE to an abridgment of ours."* This menacing letter overpowered my faculties for a time; and it was not till then I asked the aid of a most generous and noble friend to support me against oppression, which I was too timid to attempt alone to resist. He gave me the desired aid. He adopted my cause; and by his personal exertions as well as munificence, in conjunction with others, whom pity prompted to similar efforts in my favour, I have been placed beyond the reach of want, though not, as the public see, beyond the reach of persecution.

At the request of Dr. M. the subject was submitted to Judge Dawes, Judge Davis and Hon. Mr. Dexter, Referees, all of his own nomination. These gentlemen treated Dr. M. with so much delicacy, in their award, that he affected then, as he even now does publicly, to construe it in his favour. He called on them to sanction his construction, and was answered, "We did mean to say, *that Drs. M. and P. equitably owed to Miss Adams, a SUBSTANTIAL AND VALUABLE RECOMPENSE FOR THEIR INTERFERENCE WITH HER WORK.*" They used these terms, they remark, in contradistinction from "kind treatment, courteous language, respect, &c. &c. which Dr. M. seemed to apprehend as the whole amount he owed her." In the face of this award Dr. M. has the boldness to say, that upon it he "rests with entire confidence" his conclusion, that "the complaints of Miss A. are altogether groundless."

The public will by this time be able to judge of the degree of credit to be given to Dr. M's representation, and of the justice of his complaints. I must, however, say one word of the statement

* This threat was afterward put in execution by the publication of a large edition at a lower price, not however called an "abridgment."

made by me to Mr. Shaw. Dr. M. affects great surprise at his recent discovery of its existence. What will the public say, when they know that every fact of the least importance, in that paper, was contained in a statement given to the Referees, after being shown to Dr. M. himself, and by him not then contradicted in any particular? I am ready to answer in any court of earthly justice, as I could do at the bar of heaven, for the truth of every particular fact in this statement, which in any degree affects Dr. M's character.*

Instead of complying with the award above mentioned, he has persecuted me with letters, and endeavoured to amuse me with talking of offers of compromise; and to this injustice he now adds the cruel injury of dragging me before the public, and compelling me to publish these shameful truths, of one who bears the name of a minister of that Gospel, which I reverence. For this he cannot allege any unreasonable opposition, on my part, to an accommodation, for I have repeatedly told him, that I will accept any thing whatever, if he will only suffer me to live in peace. It is true, that in his appeal to the public, he affects to throw on my friends the blame of my conduct, when he says, "that if my advisers had permitted me to be made acquainted with the real state of facts, I should myself long ago have known, that my complaints were altogether groundless." Yet in his letter to me, 31st Jan. last, mentioned in his appeal, *calling on me "to do him justice, for the injury I had done him,"* he says, "I have no wonder, since reading this letter of yours, written on purpose to be circulated privately, that all who have seen it, and believed your representations of my conduct, should have thought me a kind of *monster*, and have shunned me as such. Were your representations true, they would be justified in doing it." The public will here see, with what an antagonist I am called to contend. When his object is to terrify a feeble woman into concessions, he throws all the blame on me: In the next breath, when he wants to awake the sympathies of the public in his favour, he represents me as the mere instrument of others! I cannot trust myself to comment on such conduct in the language it merits. The original wrong, which he did me, proves perhaps only his selfishness and disregard of the interest of another. Whether this last public attack, upon an unoffending female, does not imply a want of the common feelings of a man, the public must judge.

HANNAH ADAMS.

* In reply to the charge of circulating this Letter *privately* with a design to injure the reputation of Dr. M. I need only say, that I trusted to the integrity and judgment of Mr. Shaw, that he would make no improper use of the letter. I understand from him that he furnished Dr. M. with a copy, as soon as it was asked for.

Dr. Morse says "recently," and "lately for the first time," the sketch of Miss Adams's life come to his knowledge. In a letter to the Referees he mentions that in October 1812, seventeen months ago, he "was informed by a friend, that Miss A. was circulating a sketch of her life drawn up by her at the request of some of her friends."

P. S. It has been my wish to give to the public all the Documents respecting this affair; but Mr. Russell declines publishing them; I am, however, willing, if Dr. M. agrees to it, to have a pamphlet published, containing all the correspondence on this subject in chronological order, from 1804 to this day, including Dr. MORSE's elaborate letter of ten pages, to the Referees of August last, and his letter to me of twelve folio pages, dated Jan. 31, last, with a short answer thereto, which I will write; it being understood that if the sale of this publication do not cover the expense, one half of the deficiency shall be paid by me.

BRIEF REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING REPLY OF MISS ADAMS.

1. I am charged with "compelling a feeble woman to take a step foreign to the feelings and habits of her sex." I plead innocence, as to this charge. I have only vindicated my character against *her attacks*, in the only effectual way in which she would permit me to do it. On this point I trust every candid reader of the following pages will be satisfied. [See my letters addressed to her, from Nov. 1812, and following.]

2. The story of the MS. she admits did once exist, and that she contradicted it; but denies, that it "has been and is now in circulation among her friends," and assigns three reasons, in neither of which, can I perceive the least weight; except so far as they go to show that she has not circulated this story herself; with doing which she has not been charged; though there are some facts, relative to this point, which have an unfavourable bearing on Miss A's conduct, and which are particularly alluded to in my letter to her, of the 31st. of January last. But the origin and progress of this *story*, which constitutes a prominent feature in this controversy, are given under another head.

3. Miss A. thinks me in fault for not *presuming* that she intended to abridge her history, because I had abridged my Geography. It is very singular that I should be blamed for not possessing the spirit of *divination*. I did not before know that *because I abridged my Geography*, every historian and other author would of necessary consequence, and for a like purpose, abridge their works. The unreasonableness of such a ground of offence, must be obvious. And yet this is the sole ostensible cause of the *doubts*, which existed in Miss A's mind whether I "respected her rights," and which prompted the *insidious* question at the interview.*

4. But, says Miss A. "*I stated to Dr. M. my feelings on this subject.*" Here we are at issue. Her feelings, in the sense here meant, were not expressed to me by Miss A. at this interview. I solemnly aver, that I was ignorant of them for a long time after this. She came to me at the Thursday lecture, for

* See Extract from Miss A's letter to Mr. Shaw, and my letter of 31st, Jan. to Miss A.

another purpose than to express these feelings, viz. that of ascertaining whether or not I respected her rights. This I learned, not from the tenor of her conversation, but from her own declaration, made by her attorney to the Referees.* In consequence of her disingenuity, I wholly mistook the design of her interview, as she has since explained it. I supposed it was merely to obtain my consent that she should proceed with her abridgment. No other impression I am certain was left on my mind, by the conversation that passed. She may honestly think differently from this; but I as honestly think as I do. It is one of those cases in which each must be permitted to judge for himself, without imputing blame to the other. I indeed thought her question, at the time, a very needless one. I had no control over her publications. I wished none. But as she asked the question, and *pressed* it, I could not in civility avoid answering it as I did, and as I supposed to her satisfaction. Wholly unconscious that I had infringed her rights, or wounded her feelings, I answered her *insidious* question according to its obvious meaning, and with feelings entirely friendly.

5. My letter to Miss A. of the 26th Sept. 1804, a *garbled* extract from which is very *unfairly* introduced before the public in the reply, and which has been the standing theme of complaint against me ever since it was written, will, I apprehend, be found to be a harmless weapon. The reader is referred to the letter itself, in its place, to the remarks annexed, and to my letter to Miss A. of the 31st Jan. 1814.

6. I am charged with "*persecuting*" Miss A. as in other respects, so also with my "*letters*." From which side the charge of *persecution* ought to come, the reader will be able to judge, after examining the following documents.

7. A clause in an explanation of the award of the Referees, is taken from its proper connections, and exhibited in an *imposing* form, for the purpose of pre-occupying the public mind on this part of the controversy. The documents on this subject will be found in their place and order, and I confidently appeal to them for my vindication against the heavy charge of having neglected honourably to fulfil an award made by Referees "*all of my own choice*."

8. Dr. M. says Miss A. "cannot allege any *unreasonable* opposition, on my part, to an accommodation." I do allege, and expect to exhibit abundant evidence, that she *has* manifested such opposition, and that this "*unreasonable*" conduct in her has been the cause of all the "*persecution*," of which she complains, as having suffered from my letters. Her offer by Mr. Savage "*to accept any thing*," even "*a single dollar*," as a compensation from me, will be explained in its place. It was not difficult to see through the *artifice* of this offer.

* See Mr. Channing's statement to the Referees, immediately preceding their Award.

9. Miss A. complains that she is not "suffered" by me "to live in peace." I am not the troubler of her peace. Had she not permitted herself to be made an instrument to assail my reputation, to disturb *my* peace, to hinder my usefulness, and to be used as a *shield* to my *real* antagonists, I should never have interrupted her peace. She herself is in fault for all that she *has* suffered, now suffers, or may hereafter suffer, from this needless controversy. For evidence to prove the correctness of these declarations, I refer, with confidence, to the documents in this pamphlet.

10. I "affect," she says, "to throw on *her friends* the blame of her conduct." This is not correct. I have rather divided it between them. Before I discovered her letter to Mr. SHAW, I probably laid a greater proportion of the blame in this affair on her friends, than was just. Since this discovery, I have endeavoured to proportion it equitably between them. But on this point I shall have no controversy with Miss A. She may assume it all, if she pleases, and can bear it. She must not censure me, after this, for loading her with it. The public in due time will place it where it ought to lie.

11. The passage quoted from my letter of 31st of Jan. last, and *misapplied*, will make the impression I intended, when read *in its connection*. This *garbling* work may aid an indefensible cause for a little season; but it always proves bad policy in the end.

12. The remarks in the last note in her reply, in reference to her letter to Mr. SHAW, are noticed and answered in my Remarks, which follow the extract from that letter, p. 23.

I close these Remarks with the following *communication*, which was prepared for the Centinel, but being adjudged more suitable for the pamphlet, than for the newspaper, seeing the controversy, by agreement, was not *there* to be continued, it was replaced by the shorter *notice*, which appeared in the Centinel of March 12, 1814.

TO THE PUBLIC.

In the last Centinel, is a "REPLY," to my "*Appeal*," in the preceding paper, which, though it bears the signature of Miss HANNAH ADAMS, I charitably hope breathes not her spirit. I here make no answer. The Centinel has wisely shut its columns against a further discussion of the topics embraced in this controversy. This discussion, by mutual understanding, is now to assume a "pamphlet form." The character of the "*Reply*," however, and particularly the *name*, under which it appears, will, I trust, permit me to state, and you to insert, consistently with your pledge, (a space of equal length being allowed to Miss A. to reply,) that the public ought to be apprized, and distinctly to bear in mind, in order to enable them duly to estimate its importance, that this controversy is with Miss ADAMS *only in appearance*, as she has suffered herself to be "dragged before the public," as a

shield to certain individuals, acting under the influence of a *party*; who, with a *spirit* not to be envied; with a sort of *benevolence and sympathy* for a "feeble woman," not very creditable to men, who claim exclusive excellence of character;* and from an ingenious, though not original policy,† have placed her in front of their ranks, to deter from attack; or that she should unavoidably receive wounds, which might be converted to their own advantage. It is far from my desire or design to injure Miss A. in her reputation, or her rights, or interest; I trust I duly respect them all. But if she will yield herself to protect my *real* assailants, and lend her name to their *public* attacks on my character, she must not complain, if, in making my *necessary* defence against them, she should receive wounds. It will, I trust, fully appear, that I have wished to spare her, but she would not permit me. Her character and sex are doubtless to be respected; but if she would escape censure, she must have so much independence and self respect, as not to lend herself to my concealed assailants, to be used against me.

I expect to prove, to the satisfaction of fair minds, (others no evidence will convince,) that the *real* grounds of controversy between Miss ADAMS and myself, are altogether disproportioned to the effects, which we have witnessed: we are constrained, therefore, to look for some other causes, hitherto concealed from the public at large, in order to account for these effects. These causes (in order to exonerate Miss ADAMS from suffering for the sins of others, and to dismiss her from the field of controversy with as little injury as possible, for I really wish her well,) I intend to develop in a pamphlet, which is already in the press, and will soon be before the public.

Miss ADAMS will excuse me, if I decline her offered *partnership* in this publication. I prefer taking the responsibility and risk on myself. I wish not to subject her to any diminution in her means of support. I will readily admit a "short," or a long answer to my letter of 31st. Jan. last, and any other communications, of decent length and character, which she, or her advocates, may think proper to send, either for the purpose of criminating me, or of vindicating Miss ADAMS. I wish nothing concealed from the public, which has any proper bearing on this controversy.

Charlestown, March 7th, 1814.

J. MORSE.

* No reflection, not the most distant, is here intended, on those who subscribed to Miss A's annuity, as numbers doubtless did, from the most commendable motives of Christian sympathy and benevolence. The remark is limited to the *few* individuals, who were abusing this sympathy and benevolence, to subserve their sinister purposes against me.

† Cambyces, in an attack on Pelusium, "invented the following stratagem. Being informed, that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep and other animals, which were looked upon as *sacred* by that nation; and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison, not daring either to fling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyces became master of the place without opposition." Rollin's Ancient History, vol. ii. p. 283, Etheridge's Edition, 1807.

CHRONOLOGICAL DETAIL, &c.

I SHALL now lay before the Reader, in chronological order, such facts and occurrences, as have a bearing on this controversy, and as may enable him to form a correct judgment of its merits.

The Compendious History was published the beginning of September, 1804, in the manner stated in my *Appeal*. It was well received by the public; and by that portion of it particularly, which is now most active in using it to injure my reputation. Accordingly, it was reviewed in the "*Literary Miscellany*," a periodical work published at Cambridge, and conducted by some of the officers of the College, and several of the Clergy of Boston, particular friends to Miss ADAMS. This Review appeared in the No. for July, 1805, *ten months* after our history was published. The following are extracts from this Review.

"In a country, where education and reading are diffused through all ranks, the responsibility of an author is raised, and the importance of works, prepared for general and common use, is greatly increased. It cannot then be denied, that in New-England, where every man may read, elementary works and those designed for schools, academies, and private families, sustain a high and distinguished rank. They are the manuals of our youth; and the impressions, received at this early period, are as important as life itself. We cannot here refrain from deprecating the evils, which have already arisen through the prevalence of catchpenny grammars and other school books, whose authors are greedy of gain, or mere novices in the elements they profess to teach.

"The preface of the work, now under review, permits us to hope better things. A large proportion of the work was compiled several years since for the supplement to Donson's edition of the Encyclopedia, and inserted under the article *New-England*. This article our authors have been induced to revise, enlarge, and publish in its present form, for more general benefit. They say in their preface, "We have endeavoured faithfully to bring into view the most operative causes, near and more remote, which led to the settlement of New-England, with the impelling motives of the immediate agents in this bold enterprise, and to trace the steps by which she has risen to her present distinguished rank in the political, literary, and commercial world. To render the work interesting to youth, we have laboured to clothe our ideas in plain, familiar language, and to blend entertainment with instruction."

"They inform us, that many manuscripts, as well as printed volumes, have been consulted, and their essence leisurely condensed into this little work. On this last circumstance the merits of so brief a history, embracing so long a period, must principally depend."

After examining its contents in detail, the Reviewers add: "We have thus presented our readers a concise view of the work. We think it cannot fail of becoming very useful in academies and families. To possess the information it contains, is important to every one; and perhaps no history of its size contains so much. It will be seen that the religious features of our ancestors are more copiously and distinctly marked, than any others. Our authors could not well avoid this; for religion was the order of the day. It engrossed the whole attention; every other passion and object was rendered subservient. They have portrayed the eminent virtues and the peculiar imperfections of our forefathers with historic truth and filial affection. No disguise appears; no colouring is used. The style in general is plain and concise; the language simple, and, though sometimes figurative, sufficiently familiar. Having been originally written for a more extensive work, it undoubtedly sustains a higher rank, than it otherwise would."

Let it be observed, that this Review was published nine months after the date of my letter to Miss ADAMS, which makes so prominent an article in her Reply,—after her complaining letter to Mr. SHAW,—after she had completed her abridgment of her Summary History,* and with the knowledge of at least some of the clergy and literary laymen, who were acquainted with the plans, and with the complaints of Miss ADAMS; and yet, strange to tell, there is not in the whole Review, an intimation of improper interference with Miss ADAMS, or of any thing dishonourable on the part of Dr. PARISH and myself!

Three months only after the foregoing favourable review of this History appeared, another, written, as I was informed, by a Clergyman of Boston, now no more, and over whose ashes I would lightly tread, appeared in the *Anthology*, in a very different style and spirit.†

On this review the following "Remarks" were immediately made and sent to the Editor of the *Anthology*, and after remaining with him two months, were very *reluctantly* published in a manner and with a spirit, which, for a reason already suggested, I forbear to characterize.

TO THE REVIEWERS OF THE COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

Gentlemen,

WE should not trouble you with any remarks on your review of our work, did we not deem it necessary to counteract injuri-

* It was published in July, 1805.

† Those, who have opportunity, are requested to read this review, and any remarks on it, with the interlarded reflections of the Reviewers. *Anthology*, vol. II. p. 541. and 670.

ous effects, which might follow, were we silent, from some of your misrepresentations.

Of your delay of more than a year in noticing our work, after you had received it; of the time and circumstances in which you have brought it before the public; and of the *spirit*, which obviously dictated your review, we say nothing. They speak a language, which we need not interpret to your readers.

That a work like ours *was* "needed," though you "adventure to pronounce it *was not*," you have admitted, by giving your high approbation of one of a similar kind *since* published. Your *disrelish* of the history of New-England must, therefore, have some other exciting cause, than an unnecessary multiplication of books on that subject; for you admit that ours is but the *second* work of the kind. Is it because an exhibition of the venerable characters, and sound religious principles, of our forefathers, reproaches and wounds *some* of their descendants?

You correctly quote from our preface, the reasons given for our publication; that the materials for this history were scattered in volumes "too expensive, &c. to be useful to the *rising generation*." In your animadversions on this quotation, why did you omit the phrase, "*rising generation*," and represent us as saying, the volumes were "too expensive and disjointed to be *useful*." We said no such thing. Nor did we say or intimate, that Miss ADAMS's work was "ill arranged or deficient." What we meant and *said*, was, that in our opinion all previous histories of New-England, including hers among the rest, were too "voluminous and expensive to be useful to the *rising generation*. To the correctness of this opinion we have her testimony and your own; for she has *abridged* her work for the use of schools, and you have approved the measure.

But your most injurious misrepresentations remain to be noticed. You say, that we have "availed ourselves of important information contained in her work, which we were unable elsewhere easily to obtain;" and refer particularly to an account of the settlement of Rhode-Island, which you assert, was "borrowed from Miss A. and which she procured at the expense of her eyesight and health." Had you, gentlemen, with due candour and fidelity compared her work and ours, and referred to Hutchinson's history, Chalmer's Political Annals, and particularly to the sketch of the history of R. I. in the American Geography, which was compiled in 1788, from Callender's century sermon, Hopkin's Gazetteer, and MSS. lent by Dr. Stiles, you would not have made this unfounded charge. You would have found that she and we, received the *substance* of our information from the same sources; and that we were the *first* in examining the "old newspapers and mouldering rolls," on this subject. Indeed it can be shown, that she has been, to say the least, as much indebted to the American Geography, as we have been to her history of N. England. We do not mean that she has made an improper use of it, nor have we of her work.

A heavier charge still you bring against us. You have *unwillingly discerned* in us "a design to supplant Miss A. in abridging her *Summary*, and an inclination to withhold the tribute, which ought to be paid to her assiduity and merits." It is certainly, gentlemen, very remarkable, that you should "discern," and that too "*unwillingly*," what never had existence! It is a fact, with which Miss A. and her friends were long ago made acquainted, and which if it were not, *ought* to have been known to you, that *we had no knowledge* of Miss A's. ever having entertained a thought of abridging her history, till ours was written, and, if we rightly remember, printed and ready for sale. How then could we have had a "design to supplant her in abridging her history?" We solemnly aver, that the idea of interference with any of Miss A's. designs never entered our minds, till suggested by herself, at the time just alluded to; and then it was supposed our views were explained to her satisfaction. To her interests we have ever felt friendly. Her literary merits we have always appreciated and promoted. No work was ever published by us with purer intentions, than our history of New-England. The first hint of the utility of such a work was suggested by a judicious friend, on reading the article *New-England*, in the Encyclopedia; and the plan was afterward approved by some of the most respectable gentlemen in Boston.

We never have believed, nor do we yet believe, that what we have done will operate injury to Miss A. in any way, unless it be through the indiscreet counsel and conduct of some who profess to be her friends. We wish her to remember the advice of Solomon, Eccles. vi. 8. that "some men are friends *for their own occasion*, and will not abide in the day of trouble."

Such being the state of facts, we have felt *ourselves injured by the false reports which have been privately whispered and industriously circulated concerning this business*, and which we have reason to believe have made very unfavourable impressions on the minds of some respectable people. Whatever we may think of your motives in giving publicity, and your sanction, to these reports, we feel ourselves obliged by the opportunity you have afforded us publicly to repel these unjustifiable assaults on our reputation, and to explain and vindicate our conduct. And we cannot believe, that you will for a moment hesitate to do us the justice, to publish this our vindication without delay.

We are, gentlemen, with due respect, your humble servants,

J. MORSE.

E. PARISH.

For the sake of exhibiting a single specimen of the imbittered spirit, which existed toward me at this time, in a certain class of gentlemen, and who, I presume it is no calumny to say, have since used none of their influence to *heal* the controversy with

Miss A. or to contradict, and put down the *falsehoods* and *reproaches* criminating me, which have since literally filled this region, and spread through the country, I here subjoin the closing *reflections* of the Reviewers, on the preceding paper.

"It is our dispassionate advice; if you would save your reputation from the lashes of future thongs, and your Compendious History from oblivion, that you present to Miss HANNAH ADAMS the profits you may already have received from the sale, and the copyright of the work."

With such *facts* before him, as are contained in the foregoing remarks, not one of which was attempted to be disproved, what inveterate prejudices must have shielded his mind against the *truth* in this case, and what a spirit must have burned in his bosom, to have induced him to pen such a sentence? Were the sufferings of Miss ADAMS, by the publication of the "Compendious History," an adequate cause of all this feeling in the bosom of a Clergyman? Incredible. The reader will find other and more operative causes, in the sequel.

In September, 1804, the conversation between Miss ADAMS and myself took place, after the Thursday lecture, alluded to in my "Appeal," and according to all my recollections, very incorrectly related by Miss A. both in her letter to Mr. SHAW, and in her statement to the Referées. Immediately after, by desire of Miss ADAMS, I wrote to Dr. PARISH,* received his answer, and wrote Miss ADAMS the following letter, which has become celebrated, from the use that has been made of it.

Madam,

CHARLESTOWN, SEPT. 26, 1804.

"The last time I saw you, you suggested to me, that you had contemplated an abridgment of the History of New-England for schools, and wished to know if I should have any objection to your publishing a work of that kind. I answered you that I had not: I have since mentioned [in a letter] the subject of our conversation to my partner, Rev. Mr. PARISH, who appears not altogether pleased with the idea, as "it will look too much like rivalry, and might provoke to an abridgment of ours."

He thinks, "as we had no intention of interfering with the sale of your large and valuable History of New-England, and had no intimation of your intention of abridging it; and as ours is intended for a very different purpose from yours, it would hardly be proper, as ours is now published, for you to publish another of the same kind, at a less price. The public would say, that either the one or the other was unnecessary."

Such are Mr. PARISH's ideas, which he requested me to communicate to you. They will have what weight with you, you will please to give them. I gave you my own opinion verbally when I saw you.

* I kept no copy of this letter, and Dr. P. cannot find the original.

It would give me pain to have the least interference in any of our publications. It has ever been my wish to promote yours. It never entered my mind, that our history of New-England would be considered as any interference with your views. I am sorry if you so consider it. I have never heard that it is the opinion of any other person. I am with esteem, &c.

J. MORSE.

Miss ADAMS received the foregoing letter on the 12th of Oct. and the next day, as appears by Dr. PARISH's answer, (Miss A's letter has no date) wrote Dr. PARISH the following letter.

MISS ADAMS TO DR. PARISH. [Oct. 18, 1804.]

Rev. Sir,

I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in addressing you at present. Last evening I received a letter from Dr. MORSE, in which he acknowledged, that he had *formerly** encouraged me to go on with the abridgment of my History of New-England. He then adds, "I have mentioned the subject of our conversation to my partner, Rev. Mr. PARISH, who appears not altogether pleased with the idea, as it will look too much like rivalry, and might provoke to an abridgment of ours," &c. I will not allow myself to entertain an idea which reflects so much upon your honour, as to suppose it possible, that after a consideration of the subject, and a knowledge of my situation, your feelings or principles will permit you to object to my proceeding in a work which I had long contemplated, and which I had made some progress in writing.

Permit me then to inform you, that, united to the disadvantages of a feeble constitution, I am wholly dependent on my own exertions for a support. This justifies me for making pecuniary views in part my motive in writing for the press. Hence my intention when I first began my History of New-England was to make an abridgment for the use of schools. I proceeded on this plan, till I found, that if I included a general sketch of the American War, it would swell the volume to too large a size. By intense application in the prosecution of the work, I had the misfortune to lose the use of my eyes, and as I feared I never should be able to complete my History, I was induced to drop the subscription which had been set on foot. At length, after a long period of exquisite sufferings, I partially recovered and printed my work, in the form it now appears in. But as under almost every disadvantage I run the risk of an expensive publication, it was far from favouring me with the emolument I expected. I however consoled myself with the idea, that after a greater part of my History was disposed of, I could still print an abridgment for the use of schools. This idea I kept steadily in view; and as I had secured the copyright of my history, I never entertained the smallest idea of being superseded by any other person.

* *Formerly, i.e. one month before!*

I have lately seen yours and Dr. M's united work, and however pure your intentions may be, it will certainly operate greatly to my disadvantage, by retarding the sale of the books I have now on hand, as the plan of my abridgment is already sketched out. I shall not avail myself of any of the advantages I might derive by altering it, and copying yours.

I hope I shall not be accused of arrogance in abridging my own work, for the use of children, since my situation renders it a duty to use every lawful exertion for procuring a subsistence; and my copyrights give me an undoubted right to that privilege.

To sum up the whole. Can you, Rev. Sir, seriously desire to deprive a destitute female of one small resource? You cannot, you will not. But, actuated by that *disinterested benevolence*, which you inculcate in your public discourses, I trust you will do all in your power to assist me; and under this conviction, I subscribe myself with respect, Yours, &c.

H. ADAMS.

DR. PARISH'S ANSWER.

BYFIELD, Nov. 10, 1804.

Madam,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated Oct. 13. It came to hand yesterday.

So modest and persuasive a letter I cannot treat with inattention or disrespect. I had never heard of your design to abridge your history, till after ours was published. I *did* suppose that *ours* had induced you to abridge *yours*. With these impressions on my mind, it cannot be surprising to any one, that I should "not be altogether pleased with the idea" of the abridgment, "as it looked too much like rivalry." Your narrative has dispelled my apprehensions.

In this connection, permit me to say, that in writing this little work with Dr. M. I never had an idea nor conception, that it would "operate to your disadvantage." I really supposed that the size and design of the two works were so different, that there would be no kind of interference. Ours was designed almost appropriately to display the spirit and sufferings of our forefathers, in the earlier periods of the settlement, with a mere sketch of the late events. Ours was designed to be a *little* thing, not more than 300 pages, as you will see by the subscription paper. Had the writers been present when it was discovered by printing, that the work was as large as it is; it would have been considerably reduced from what it now is. I supposed it would be a handmaid to introduce youth to an acquaintance with your greater work; and therefore, that it would "operate for your advantage." It gave me pleasure in this view. I still think it may be an advantage to your work.

You say you shall not alter your abridgment by copying ours, &c. Excuse me, Madam, you do not, you can not, mean to insin-

uate that I have copied yours. With the huge mass of materials we had, you will readily acknowledge, there could be no necessity, or even need of such a measure.

Permit me to say, what I think the circumstances will justify my saying, that I well recollect writing your name as an authority, sometimes when the thing taken was an extract you had made from another: and it would perhaps have been more exact to have inserted another name: but this I did, to show my respect for you, and to keep your book in view. Finally, "I can not, I will not, wish to deprive" you "of one small resource." Possibly the following articles may be of use to you, in another edition of your very useful "View of Religions;" if so, I shall be very glad that I extracted them from "*Bingham's antiquities of the Christian Church.*" [We omit these extracts.]

E. PARISH.

Dr. PARISH brought this letter to me himself, about the 12th Nov. It met my entire approbation. He delivered it to Miss A. with his own hand, and obtained from her "an acquittal." See the following document.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MISS ADAMS TO WILLIAM
S. SHAW, ESQ.*

"From the time that my History of New-England was published, I steadily kept my plan in view of abridging it for the use of schools. Hence I felt greatly surprised, and hurt, when I found my design was anticipated by Dr. MORSE and Mr. PARISH. I did not receive the intelligence, that they had any such work on hand, till it was put to the press. I made it an object immediately after, to see Dr. MORSE, and informed him that I began my History for the use of schools, though the weakness of my eyes obliged me to print it in a less condensed form than I had intended; that I was now preparing to execute my original design; that my situation rendered it necessary for me to write for a support; that I apprehended his work would hinder the sale of those copies of my History, which I had still on hand, as well as prevent my publishing the abridgment, which I had already sketched out. He endeavoured to sooth my mind by complimenting my publications, and said "he did not think his work would interfere with mine." I then asked him, whether he was willing that I should go on with my abridgment: he answered, "Perfectly willing; and that he wished to encourage the undertaking."

Notwithstanding this assurance, soon after his history was out of the press, I received a letter from him stating Mr. PARISH's objections to my publishing; of which I enclose a copy. This so much agitated and distressed my feelings, that I was unable to proceed in my abridgment, until I was encouraged by the friends

* The letter from which the following is extracted, contains other things relating to Miss A's. history and sufferings, which are irrelevant, and have no bearing on this controversy.

whom I consulted upon the subject. I could not bear the idea of appearing arrogant and presumptuous by writing, after Mr. PARISH deemed it improper; and was besides intimidated by the idea, that if I proceeded in my design, I might "provoke" the Rev. gentlemen to make another abridgment. *I imagined that Dr. MORSE, notwithstanding his late declaration, was averse to my publishing, but that he chose rather to have the objections appear in Mr. PARISH's name than his own.* I concluded therefore, instead of answering his letter, to give the latter gentleman a true statement of my circumstances, and the motives that induced me to write for the press. I enclose a copy of my letter. When I was in town last autumn, Mr. PARISH called on me, and informed me, that after he received my letter his feelings upon the subject were entirely changed; that the objections he had made, were owing to his ignorance of my situation and views; and that since he knew the true state of the case, he sincerely wished me success in my abridgment. *This interview acquitted him in my opinion, and relieved my mind from a weight of anxiety which had injured my health, and retarded my publication.* If Dr. MORSE had been kind enough to have given his literary partner an account of my situation and views, this might have been prevented. I cannot think that he did as he would have wished others, in a similar case, to have done by him, in putting his work to press without first apprizing me of his design; and that he has treated me with that candour and generosity, which my helpless sex, and dependent situation, led me to expect from a gentleman, Christian, and public teacher."

REMARKS.

Here let the reader pause, and carefully re-peruse the preceding documents; for in them, let it be remembered, he is to look for the *whole cause*, the *root* of the controversy with Miss A. For this reason I shall examine them minutely. Before the re-perusal of these letters, the reader should have distinctly in mind the following facts and dates.

1. The interview, the only one I ever had with Miss A. on the subject, of which she gives an account in her letter to Mr. SHAW, took place after the Thursday lecture, in the crowd, about the middle of Sept. 1804, and about a fortnight, as nearly as I can recollect, *after* our Compendious History was published.

2. Previously to this interview, not the slightest difference between Miss A. and myself had ever taken place. I had always acted, and been considered, for aught I knew to the contrary, as her friend.

3. After Miss A. heard that our History was in the press, (when this was I know not) she complained to one gentleman, and probably to more, of Dr. P. and myself, because, as she supposed, our work would interfere with hers. She was advised to see and

converse with me on the subject, and was told that she would doubtless receive satisfaction.

4. She accordingly sought and obtained an interview with me, *viz.* the one mentioned in the first article. With this interview she was well pleased, and "entirely satisfied." The information, contained in these two last articles, I have received since this pamphlet was in press, from a respectable gentleman in Boston, who heard Miss A. utter her complaints, advised her to the interview, and heard her, after it, express her "entire satisfaction."

5. The reader is requested to read Miss A's. own account of this interview, which "entirely satisfied her," and to remark and remember, that she gives no hint of the MS. story, which makes so prominent a figure in this controversy ; she makes no mention of the injury done her "reputation, as an author," in the preface to our History ; no intimation that I had made an "improper use of her published work," out of which she and her friends have *since* fabricated the charge mentioned in a note in her reply, (page 9.) and which was submitted to the Referees. Nor does she intimate that I came under any obligation whatever, not to publish another edition of our History. These grounds of complaint, which all existed, (the last excepted) if they ever had existence, at the time of this interview, were not even glanced at, according to *her own* account of it. We may venture to presume, therefore, that they did not then exist in her mind, as complaints ; or if they did, they were, in her view, too trivial to mention. In any case, however, the interview "entirely satisfied her."

Here then, let it be remembered, that on or about the 15th of Sept. 1804, (the date of the interview) some weeks *after* our History was before the public, there existed, according to Miss A's own acknowledgment at the time, no cause of offence, or complaint whatever against me. Her mind was "satisfied," as to all that was past.

In confirmation of what is above stated, it will appear in its place, that it was admitted by Miss A. or, which is the same thing, by Mr. HIGGINSON, before the Referees, more than four years after, that our History was published, "with *upright and honourable* views of promoting the public good, and without the most distant thought of interfering with the rights, or interests, or wounding the feelings of Miss A. or any one else." It was declared before the Referees by Mr. HIGGINSON, with the knowledge and consent doubtless of Miss A. in whose behalf he acted, that "no one that he had heard, *doubted the right of Dr. Morse to publish his work,*" and that he "never alleged, that I had a *design to interfere with Miss A. in any work.*" I quote his own words. Resort was accordingly had to other causes of complaint, which will be noticed in their place. I therefore conclude, on the incontrovertible evidence now stated, that till *after* our History was published, and *after* the interview above mentioned,

no cause of offence or complaint against me existed, in fact, nor even in the imagination of Miss A. or of her friends. She declared her "entire satisfaction" with my treatment of her; and Mr. HIGGINSON admits what amounts to the same thing. All causes of complaint and offence must, therefore, be sought in events *subsequent* to the interview.*

6. The reader is requested now to turn to my letter to Miss A. bearing in mind, that I wrote it in the simplicity of my heart, as to one, with whom I was on friendly terms; that it was occasioned by her desire, expressed at the interview, that I would consult with Dr. P. and by the request of Dr. P. that I would communicate *his objections*. I say *his* objections; they were *exclusively* his. I never had any. I expressly declared to her at the interview just before, that I had none; and repeated the declaration, or rather reminded her of it, in my letter to her. Let these things be particularly remembered, while reading this letter, and also the letter to Mr. SHAW.

[In this place read my letter to Miss A. of Sept. 26, 1804. p. 19]

Here is the famous letter, which has made so prominent a figure in this controversy; from which was drawn a leading article in the charges exhibited to the Referees; a *garbled* extract from which is ingeniously introduced into the *Reply to the Appeal*, adapted, if not *intended*, to make a *false* and wounding impression on the public mind. This is the letter, which is thus noticed by the Editor of the Anthology, Dec. 1805,† in his answer to my Remarks on his review of our history. "You very well know, that you privately endeavoured to dissuade Miss A. from abridging her work, and even *threatened* her, that the prosecution of her purpose, might "*provoke an abridgment of your Compendious History.*" And yet you have always appreciated her merits, and befriended her interest!!!"

Mr. HIGGINSON, alluding to this letter, says, "my first charge was that he (Dr. M.) *did* interfere with her rights, by a *cruel* and *unmanly threat*, to publish an abridgment to meet hers."‡

This letter is alluded to, in more softened terms, indeed, in the statement to the Referees, as follows: "Miss A. received a letter from Dr. M. saying, that he had consulted Dr. P. who did not approve of her publishing an abridgment, and advised her not to do it, lest it should provoke them to publish an abridgment also."

Such have been the representations of this letter; and it has been made the theme of incessant reproach, ever since it was written.

* Should it be found in the sequel, however, that Miss A. and her friends complain of what passed *before* the interview, and make *charges* out of them before the Referees and the public, they will now know how to estimate their foundation and their weight.

† Vol. ii. p. 673.

‡ See Mr. H's. remarks on my letter to Mr. Salisbury, of Dec. 7, 1808.

The dismal effects produced by this letter on Miss A. ought here to be brought into view before the reader. They are described very pathetically by Miss A. herself, in her letter to Mr. SHAW. [Here the reader is requested to turn to the last paragraph in this letter, and to read it attentively.]

In the statement made to the Referees, these effects are thus described. "This shock (meaning the one occasioned by my letter) produced a serious effect on the weak nerves of Miss A. and deprived her of all power, if she had had courage, to go on with her work."

7. With the facts in view, which have now been stated, let the reader turn to Miss A's. letter to Dr. P. of the 13th Oct. 1804, the day after she received my letter, and then to his answer of 10th of Nov. the day after he received it; remembering at the same time, the interview which took place, when Dr. P. delivered his own letter to Miss A. about the 12th of Nov. to which Miss A. alludes in her letter to Mr. SHAW, and the effects of this interview, as stated by Miss A. to Mr. SHAW, in the following words; "This interview acquitted him in my opinion, &c. I much mistake if he will not here find, literally, "*much ado about nothing*."

Here he will find these facts:

1. That Miss A. correctly considered the objections to her publishing, as Dr. PARISH's objections, not as mine; and that she accordingly wrote not to me, but to him, to remove them.

2. That he did in fact effectually remove them immediately, as soon as he was made acquainted with Miss A's circumstances, and with the effect they had had on her mind. To this fact Miss A. herself is the witness.

3. That the dismal effects of this letter on Miss A. above related, lasted just one month, from Oct. 12th, when she received my letter, to Nov. 12th, when Dr. P. called on her and delivered his letter, and had the interview, which Miss A. says, "acquitted him in my opinion, and relieved my mind from a weight of anxiety, which had injured my health, and retarded my publication." The cause and the effects are now both before the reader; he will judge whether the one is proportioned to the other. On the preceding facts and statements I am willing to rest the whole controversy. If they are admitted as correct, and I think no one will deny them, then every thing that has since occurred will admit of easy and satisfactory explanation.

It is obvious here to remark, that between the "satisfactory" interview with Miss A. about the 15th of Sept. 1804, and the satisfactory interview between Dr. P. and Miss A. about the middle of Nov. following, nothing happened to give Miss A. offence, or cause of complaint, except the objections, &c. of Dr. P. and these were entirely removed, as we have seen, and Dr. P. received an ample "acquittal." All matters of difference between Miss A. on the one part, and Dr. P. and myself on the other, ap-

pear to have been amicably and satisfactorily settled, Miss A. herself being the judge. No new cause of offence is pretended to have subsequently occurred, till months after Miss A's letter to Mr. SHAW was written. This will appear in the sequel.

It was in this state of things, when every ground of complaint suggested by Miss A. had been promptly, amicably and satisfactorily removed, when she confessedly had nothing to lay to our charge, that she wrote her letter, or, rather statement, to Mr. SHAW, at his request. The reader is desired here to stop, to reflect on what has just been stated, to turn to the letter, to read it critically, and then to form his own opinion, as to the fairness and *correctness* of the views of the writer. I will here ask, whether a reader would not naturally inquire, "What could have induced the woman thus to bring up afresh, and in a manner bearing so hard on the character of Dr. M. complaints which she acknowledged had been previously removed to her entire satisfaction? Why the wounding *insinuation* against him, in respect to Dr. PARISH's objections? why the disposition so fully to acquit the latter gentleman, and so ready to criminate the former? There must be some *hidden cause* of these effects." Would not such be the natural reflections of a discerning and attentive reader of the letter under consideration, in view of the preceding facts? Let me here inform the reader, that this letter to Mr. SHAW was written *during the controversy respecting the election of the Hollis Professor of divinity, in Harvard College, near the time of his election, and the publication of the "True Reasons," &c, when the word was given out from high authority, concerning me, "He must be put down."* On these facts the reader may rely; and in them he will find, I apprehend, the *hidden cause* of these effects.

As this letter to Mr. SHAW is brought into view in my *Appeal*, and in Miss A's Reply, and also in my letter of the 31st Jan. last, to Miss A. and has been used with no small effect, to injure my reputation, it becomes necessary in this place to make some further remarks upon it.

1. This letter, the original of which is in my possession, is without *date* or *direction*. Mr. SHAW informed me that it was written at his request. I conclude, therefore, it was addressed to him, and have in consequence prefixed to it his name. Miss A. indeed, says, she "trusted it to him."

In regard to the *date*, feeling it of some importance to ascertain it, I wrote Mr. S. a note, in Nov. or Dec. last, to send it to me. I have received no answer. From two circumstances, however, I judge that it was written early, say during the first three months in the year 1805. It contains this passage, "When I was in town last autumn, Mr. PARISH called on me, &c." This interview, it has been stated, took place about the middle of Nov. 1804. This is one circumstance. The other is the following passage in the statement of Miss A's case, which was submitted

to the Referees. "While under the dejection of mind above mentioned, i.e. between Oct. 12, and Nov. 12, 1804, she visited Boston, and met with Mr. SHAW, told him her distress, &c. he encouraged her, &c." This visit and these complaints probably induced Mr. SHAW afterward, or at the time, to request her to give him a statement of her grievances in writing. She probably complied with his request, and furnished her statement, which would necessarily require some time, as soon as she could prepare it.

2. I impeach not Mr. SHAW's motives in asking for this statement. They may have been correct and benevolent. But if Miss A. was faithful to tell him all that had recently passed, he certainly should not have received such a statement from her. She would have merited his reproof, rather than his aid, for attempting thus to revive grievances, which had been removed, and to injure the characters of those who had done her no wrong. Much less should he have circulated it, knowing, as he must have known, in the circumstances supposed, that it was calculated to make a *false* and very *injurious* impression in respect to my conduct. And even had he believed it correct, the proper course assuredly, on every correct principle, whether religious or social, would have been to have acquainted me with her complaints, and given me an opportunity to explain, or to have otherwise removed them. If Miss A. deceived Mr. SHAW, by keeping back part of the truth, she must answer it. Her own statement is certainly against her, on this point. The reader will judge for himself. Miss ADAMS and Mr. SHAW are left to extricate themselves from this dilemma.

3. Miss A. informs us,* that she "trusted this letter to the integrity and judgment of Mr. SHAW, that he would make no improper use of it." And what use has he made of it? It was *concealed* from me more than *eight years* after it was written; and in the mean time was shown to others, I know not to how many, in order, as I have been informed, to induce them to subscribe toward an *annuity* for Miss ADAMS' support. If this was Miss A's. object in writing this statement, and Mr. SHAW's in requesting it, be sure, it was well adapted to accomplish such an object; but could an honourable and fair mind descend to such an artifice, or enjoy, with a quiet conscience, its fruits; or reflect, without being filled with remorse, that she had obtained this boon by means of groundless complaints, which had been attended to and removed, as soon as known; and by gross misrepresentations, which, as far as credited, must inflict a fatal wound on the honour, integrity, and veracity of a minister of the Gospel, who for fifteen years had been her friend and patron, and against whom, as she had recently acknowledged, she had no cause of complaint?

* See note 3d, in her Reply to the Appeal.

It has been used for another purpose. It was sent for, by a person, whom I could name, in the summer of 1809, on purpose to counteract the effect of a statement I had made of this subject, to a very dear and worthy female friend of mine. She obtained it, the very copy I possess, as she told me, when it was shown to her. It had but a partial effect on her fair and friendly mind. In an interview with this friend, in Oct. 1812, she mentioned this MS. and stated some facts which it contained, and asked me certain questions. This was the *first* intimation I received of the existence of such a letter. I requested that I might see it. She at first said I should see it, but a short time after, when my request was repeated, she informed me, that she *was not at liberty to show it to me*. I immediately sought to obtain it from Miss A. herself, through Rev. Mr. BATES, (Miss A. then being at Dedham,) but failed. In a note she wrote to Mr. BATES, she authorized him to assure me, that the letter I was seeking contained nothing essential, which I had not already seen.*

I was so far satisfied with the declarations of Miss A. contained in this Note, that I made no further efforts to obtain this MS. till Oct. 1813, when some occurrences induced me to apply to Mr. SHAW for it. Miss A. says, in the third note to her Reply to my Appeal, "I understand from Mr. SHAW, that he furnished Dr. M. with a copy, *as soon as it was asked for*. But why wait eight years to be asked for such a letter as this? How correct this assertion of Miss A. is, will be seen by the following facts. On the 18th of Oct. 1813, I wrote Mr. SHAW the following Note.

Wm. S. Shaw, Esq.

OCTOBER 18, 1813.

Sir, I will thank you to loan me for a few days, the "Statement made by Miss H. A. of her difficulties relative to her History of New-England, which you loaned to Mr. ———, for the purpose of showing to my friend Mrs. ———, and which she accordingly has read. I applied to Miss A. for it, and she states, that it is "*essentially the same, as that inspected by me, and the Referees*, and that it was written prior to their award." If so, there can be no objection to my seeing it, as I have her statement which was made to the Referees. My friend, Mrs. ———, has stated to me some *very important* particulars, which she found in the copy you have, which are not in mine, and which I have a great desire to see; and which, as they affect my character, I have a right to know. I trust, therefore, you will readily comply with my request, and oblige your obedient servant,

J. MORSE.

The message I received from Mr. SHAW by the bearer of the above note was, that he would look it up and send it. After waiting some days, I sent again for it. The message I received

* See Miss A's note to Mr. Bates of Oct. 30, 1812.

from Mr. S. was, that he did not understand my note. I sent a third time without obtaining it. I then called on Mr. S. myself, and in a few days after, he sent it to me.

5. On this letter, Miss A. in her "Reply" to the "Appeal," remarks as follows :

"Dr. M. affects great surprise at his recent discovery of its existence. What will the public think, when they know that *every fact of the least importance*, in that paper, was contained in a statement given to the Referees, *after being shown to Dr. M. himself; and by him not then contradicted in any particular!*" What will the public think, I reply, when they know that the above sentence contains one *direct falsehood*, if no more. The statement given to the Referees, and shown to me, *was contradicted by me, at the time, in several very important and material particulars*, in written "Remarks" exhibited at the Reference, and a copy of these Remarks was left *with the Referees*.*

The following discrepancy in the two statements is hardly consistent with Miss A's declaration.

STATEMENT TO MR. SHAW.

"This interview, with Dr. PARISH, *acquitted him in my opinion*, and relieved my mind from a weight of anxiety which had injured my health, and retarded my publication."

STATEMENT TO THE REFEREES.

"At an interview, afterward, this gentleman, (Dr. P.) *overpowered her with professions of good will.*"

In the statement to the Referees, as in that to Mr. SHAW, there is no *acquittal* of Dr. P. On the other hand, Dr. P. is censured with great severity; and yet, strange as it may seem, to all who are unacquainted with the true nature and design of this controversy, he has been ever since kept entirely out of sight, and the whole *pretended* turpitude of this business is made, without any *apparent* cause, to attach exclusively to me.

6. In regard to the great and solemn oath, which Miss A. seems willing to take in support of the truth of every *particular fact* in this statement, which in any degree affects my character, I would remark, that her expression here is guarded. The *facts* here stated, strictly speaking, none of them can be said, directly and abstractedly, to affect my character; though I would not for my life, undertake to support some of them with my oath. It is not the *facts* of which I particularly complain. It is the *insinuation*, to which I have already alluded; the important *omissions* and *defects* in the narrative, both in point of *facts* and *chronology*; it is a certain studied *phraseology*, adapted to deceive the reader; and lead him to believe that events, which passed away in a day, in a month, were many days, and many months in passing; it

* See these Remarks subjoined to the statement alluded to in its place.

is especially the circumstance, that pretended grievances, which are made to implicate my character deeply, and which, by Miss A's own acknowledgment, had been recently removed, to her entire satisfaction, should be again revived, and formally stated in writing, to be privately circulated,—these are the things of which I complain; and these Miss A's oath neither affects nor removes. For these things, every declaration in her Reply notwithstanding, she stands chargeable before the public, and to that higher tribunal, to which she has seen fit to appeal.

But this topic, with some others appertaining to the letter we have been considering, are particularly illustrated in my letter to Miss A. of the 31st of January last, to which the reader is referred.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND USE OF THE NOTED STORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

This story is told in my "Appeal." Its history, could it be obtained complete, would form a fruitful subject for a novel. Though at first disowned by its putative parent, there immediately sprang up friends for the foundling, not a few, nor of ordinary respectability, who eagerly took it up, and nurtured it with care; and it has rewarded their friendship by its pliant subserviency to their views. It has been a great traveller, and has evinced, that it is of the *Protean race*, from its various dress and appearance. Many direct attempts have been made to strangle it, as an infamous defamer of character, a pest to social intercourse, a separator of friends, and a destroyer of good. But such a favourite has it been, so vigilant, powerful, and active have been its supporters, that these attempts have all failed. It has survived every attack; and with its increase in age, has grown in strength and influence. Whether the late wound it has received will prove mortal, remains to be known. But to drop this figure.

This story is traced directly to Mr. JOSIAH GUILD, of Cambridge, a member of the college; and, as I am informed, he declared at the time, that he heard Miss ADAMS herself relate it to his mother. It lies therefore with Mr. GUILD, and Miss A. to settle its origin between them.

The following letter, penned at the moment, and which was communicated to the Referees,* at once authenticates the origin of the story, and connects it with the *causes* why it was got up; and will enable all, who understand what has been the state of things in this region, for the last nine years, to account for the use that has been made of this, and other equally false and wounding stories, which have been put into circulation concerning me.

* The *original* is now before me, and may be seen by any one.

CAMBRIDGE, THURSDAY NOON, AUG. 1, 1805.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

A friend of you and myself just called on me to ask, if your *History of New-England* were a *plagiarism* from a *manuscript* of Miss HANNAH ADAMS? I replied in the negative; and told him that a considerable part of it had been prepared for publication, long before the publication of her history. He observed, that a person told him, he had heard Miss A. say, that she put into your care, for inspection, a manuscript of an abridgment of her *History of New-England*; that you took yours from it; advised her to proceed to publication; and then robbed her of the benefit of it, by publishing it yourself. I speak as I hear, that you may know how to meet report; and make due allowance for the *medium*. Though my author was a friend, his is of a family that cannot digest your *True Reasons*;* does not probably relish the *Panoplist*; and is particularly partial to Miss A. As the report is probably *grateful* to some in and about college, I wish as soon as may be to know more particularly how to meet it myself. Yours, &c.

P.S. It may be best not to mention this subject to any one immediately, as Miss A. may be misrepresented, and the report may not be very public.

Upon the receipt of this letter, Dr. HOLMES was requested to write Miss A. which he promptly did, as follows.

CAMBRIDGE, AUGUST 15th, 1805.

Miss Hannah Adams,

Last evening, my esteemed friend, I was called on by a young gentleman, who was desirous to know, whether I had heard, at any time, that Miss ADAMS had felt herself injured by Dr. MORSE in the matter of her abridgment of the *History of New-England*. I stated what I knew, and asserted what I conceived to be your just claims.

But those claims, I found, were readily conceded. The question reached further. It respected a report, "that Miss ADAMS had lent her MS. to Dr. MORSE for examination, &c. but that he detained it some time, made extracts from it for his own work, and then returned it." I replied, that I had never heard such a report. He told me that it was beginning to prevail, as from Miss ADAMS, and expressed, as was natural, a solicitude for its effects on Dr. M. whose particular friend he is. I told the young gentleman I would write to you, and make the inquiry, not in the least doubting that there is some misconception, or intentional

* The "*True Reasons*" here alluded to, refer to a pamphlet commonly designated by this title, which was published shortly after the election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, and which, as it is a key to unlock and lay open to the public the *principal* and most *operative causes* of the existing controversy, I have thought it proper, and even necessary, to introduce into this pamphlet, in order to give the public a full view of the whole ground.

misrepresentation. If you will do me the favour to write me early by the mail, and let me know the facts on that subject in a few words, you will oblige others, and also Your sincere friend.

A. HOLMES.

Rev. Sir,

WRENTHAM, SEPT. 1895.

I gratefully acknowledge your goodness in writing, and would have immediately returned an answer; but your letter did not arrive till late last evening. Permit me solemnly to declare, that I have never reported any thing like what you mention respecting Dr. MORSE. I own, however, I felt surprised and hurt when I found his concise History of New-England was put to the press; and thought he ought previously to have apprized me of his intention. My helpless situation made it necessary for me to consult my friends upon the subject, and I have uniformly made the same statement to them, which I did to you. Be so good as to inform Dr. MORSE's friend, that the report you mention never came from me, that I never heard of it before, and am as much concerned and hurt with it, as he can possibly be.

Your compliance with my request will enhance the favours already conferred upon,

REV. MR. HOLMES.

Rev. Sir,

Your much obliged friend,

H. ADAMS.

It is proper here to say, that I never saw either of the foregoing letters, till copies of them were handed 1808 to the Referees by Mr. HIGGINSON. I was barely informed, that Dr. HOLMES had written Miss A. and that she had answered directly and satisfactorily, contradicting the report. Here I supposed it would end. Conscious that there was not a shadow of foundation for the report, it gave me no concern. I supposed it a boyish report of a day.

I had no belief that so *base* and *palpable* a falsehood could obtain any currency among people of decent, much less of respectable, standing in society. I was however deceived. Events, with which the reader is soon to be made acquainted, had unfortunately prepared many, differing from me in *religious* opinions, and in the expediency and correctness of certain measures recently adopted relating to the College, to give too favourable an ear to this story. They probably had not heard that Miss A. had contradicted it, and might have supposed it *substantially* true. And associating chiefly with those, who, to say the least, "had no partiality for me," and felt no particular interest to stop its course, it obtained a degree of credit, and a currency, which in ordinary circumstances it could never have gained, and among a class of people, who have too much character knowingly to sanc-

tion such calumnies ; but who, when they have once imbibed prejudices, and committed themselves on *false ground*, too reluctantly afterward yield to the evidence of truth. In no other way can I satisfactorily account for the progress and effects of this story.

But I descend to particular facts. I omit names and details as unnecessary to my purpose. They shall both be given, however, to any who ask it.

This story, long after it was contradicted by Miss A. was told to two very respectable ladies, my particular friends, of my own congregation, in such manner, and by persons of such character, as to excite doubts and deep concern in their minds, whether it might not be true.

Two other persons, also in this town, not inclined to believe ill of me, and numbered with the particular acquaintances of Miss A. had fully believed the story true, till a short time since. The impressions on their minds, I have reason to believe, were made by Miss A. herself ; she at least never took any pains to efface them, though a visitor in the family.

In a large and respectable company of gentlemen and ladies in Boston, in the hearing of a worthy friend of mine, who immediately after informed me of it, this story was told, in all its aggravating circumstances ; and, to use the words of my friend, "every word of it was swallowed as true." The effects were, as would be natural, expressions, from every quarter, of strong indignation at my conduct. This took place in the fall of 1808, and was the immediate cause of the Reference hereafter mentioned.

This story has been told within two months, in Newburyport, in the hearing of a worthy member of my church, and, as she apprehended, was believed by the company to be true, and produced all its natural effects upon my reputation.

In the hearing of a very worthy and respectable gentleman in Boston, this same story was told, not long since, in a promiscuous company of gentlemen, in the city of New-York ; and when this gentleman expressed his belief, that this business had been settled, or cleared up, another gentleman present, a near relation of one of the present ministers of Boston, asserted, that it had not been cleared up ; and the unfavourable impressions from the story, were thus left on the minds of the company.

The minister of Boston, just alluded to, not eighteen months ago, if I rightly recollect, assured me of *his* full belief of this story, in all its prominent particulars ; and so strong was the impression on his mind of its truth, that after I had contradicted it as fully as it is done in my Appeal, he still *doubted*, and concluded the conversation on the subject, by saying, "I will ask, ———, a respectable gentleman in Boston, if it be not true." How came this story so deeply rivetted in the mind of this

clergyman? Admit that he had a *prepared* mind to receive it, as no doubt he had, yet some of his associates, who believed it, or wished it believed, must have sown it on this prepared soil; and among its fruits, we may probably reckon the fact, just stated, of what passed in the company in New-York.

A very worthy and respected family in Boston, I was informed within a few weeks, by persons of undoubted veracity, (and this fact, and the urgent request of those who communicated it, because they deemed it an indispensable step, formed one strong reason for making my Appeal to the public,) a family in which Miss A. is particularly acquainted, have been in the habit of considering this story as undoubtedly true, and have had toward me the feelings which a belief of it would naturally inspire. And a multitude of others in Boston, and in its near vicinity, I am assured from every quarter, have entertained the same feelings, and from the same cause.

Members of every branch of the legislature, some from Maine, from Northampton, and from Springfield and other places, have, to my personal knowledge, heard this story in Boston, in the *higher* circles there, and not without very unfavourable impressions concerning my character.

A venerable clergyman, in an interior and retired town, lately informed me, that he had heard this story.

It was told in such a manner to a worthy lady, not of my acquaintance, in Billerica, previously well affected to my character, as to change her regard into indignation.

From these and many other like facts, which have incidentally come to my knowledge, without my seeking after them, I may, I think, with the highest degree of probability, infer, that this false and infamous story has had a very wide circulation, and on many minds produced a very injurious effect, through the very active exertions of a few individuals, who are known to have been employed in the business of defaming my character.

Such are the proofs of the truth of my declaration, in the second paragraph in my Appeal. With these facts before them, the public will know how to judge of the correctness of Miss A's assertions respecting this story, in the beginning of her Reply; and of the pertinency of her question, "Why I have brought forward this story?" and of the ground for her *insinuation*, which follows, and which I cannot condescend further to notice.

These facts, concerning the use that has been made of this story for more than eight years past, and was still made of it, secretly to undermine and blast my reputation and usefulness, I trust will fully justify me in appealing to the public in the manner I have done; and also, in connecting this whole affair respecting Miss A. as I have, with the *only cause* which can satisfactorily account for the use that has been made of it.

OF THE PAMPHLET, ENTITLED "TRUE REASONS, &c."

ABOUT the time that the Compendious History of New-England was published, in the Autumn of 1804, commenced the public controversy in the newspapers,* on the subject of filling the chair of Hollis Professor of Divinity, in the University at Cambridge, made vacant by the lamented death of Dr. TAPPAN. This controversy produced considerable agitation in the public mind, and issued in the election of its present occupant, the Rev. Dr. WARE. As a member of the Board of Overseers, I opposed this choice, and for reasons which I was afterward constrained to publish in *self defence*. This publication, which I have thought it necessary here to insert entire, was then, and *has ever since been*, considered, by one class of people, as my *unpardonable offence*, and by another class, as *the best thing I ever did*. One of the former party is said to have declared soon after its publication, that "it was so bad a thing, that it would more than counter-balance all the good I ever had done, or ever should afterward do, should I live ever so long;" while another of the other party, said, "if I had never done any good before I made that publication, and should never do any thing afterward, that single deed would of itself produce effects of sufficient importance and utility to mankind, to be worth living for." I introduce these *extravagant* declarations, merely as indications of the deep interest that was taken, at the time, in this little pamphlet, connected with the event of which it treated. This pamphlet, to one party so extremely obnoxious, was published after the middle of March, 1805, a month after the election of Professor WARE. It was reviewed in the *Anthology* the same month.† The spirit of this review, and the sort of attacks and menaces, which in other forms I received, induced me, and others, my friends, who acted with me, to believe, that some *defensive* measures had become indispensable. A periodical work was mentioned and agreed upon; and the circumstances under which it was published, and its design, suggested its title, *THE PANOPLIST*, which it has ever since borne. The proposals for this work were issued early in April, 1805, and the first No. appeared the June following; and the numbers have been regularly published every month since.

In these two publications, as *the root*, and the subsequent establishment of the *Theological Institution* at Andover, which commenced, in contemplation and active exertions, in the spring of 1806, and in the collateral events necessarily growing out of these, the public will find a cause, or rather a combination of causes,

* See the *Centinel*, *Palladium*, and *Chronicle*, from Sept. 1804, to March 1805.

† See *Anthology*, Vol. II. p. 152.

adequate to produce the effects which they have witnessed, and corresponding in their nature to these effects, particularly as they have affected me, in relation to the subjects of the present controversy.

Here follows the Pamphlet, to which the reader's attention is particularly requested, in the view of it above presented.

It bears the following title,

THE TRUE REASONS,

On which the election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, was opposed at the Board of Overseers, Feb. 14, 1805, by JEDIDIAH MORSE, D.D. member of Board of Overseers.

The subsequent note was prefixed to this Pamphlet.

The following publication, for which some may think an apology necessary, is made with a view to correct certain misrepresentations, which have gone abroad relative to the late election of a Professor of Divinity; to communicate some material information concerning the true design of the pious Mr. Hollis, in establishing this Professorship, which the writer was not permitted to lay before the Board of Overseers when the abovementioned election was under consideration; and to acquaint the citizens of the Commonwealth, who have an interest in this ancient and respectable seat of science, and a claim to its privileges, with the real grounds of the existing controversy. March, 1805.

HARVARD College was founded in 1638. Of the religious principles and character of its founders there can be no doubt, since they were the same men, who in 1648, subscribed the Westminster Confession of Faith, as containing, in their view, the true doctrines of the Gospel.

The important and pious *design* of this Institution, which for more than a century appears to have been religiously regarded, and ought ever to be kept in view, is concisely and happily expressed in the motto of the college seal, "CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE." For CHRIST and the CHURCH. "In unison herewith the first law in the college code respecting the students, enacted by the Overseers in 1642, is this, "Every one shall consider the *main* end of his life and studies, to know GOD and JESUS CHRIST, which is eternal life."* The other laws and regulations of the college breathe the same Christian spirit.

This seminary was founded by the fathers of New-England, for the benefit of their "posterity, dreading an illiterate ministry," when the learned and pious pastors they then enjoyed should sleep in the dust.†

* Professor Pearson's Lecture, occasioned by the death of President Willard, p. 15. Note.

† New-England's First Fruits.

That such was the design of this Institution, is confirmed by the following extract from an Address of the Corporation to the king, Feb. 5, 1723, about the time the Divinity Professorship was founded. "Our fathers," say they, "were some of the old Puritans. *Religion was their chief care*, and in order to that, *learning*; that they began a college; and that from it our many churches have been supplied with pastors; that *the principles of religion are here taught and instilled into our youth*, and our many churches are at this day famous for their zeal for the true protestant religion, *according to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England*; nor have they been exceeded by any in the joy of seeing those divine truths secured to us in your Majesty's possession of the throne."

The benefactors of this college, chiefly, and its successive Presidents and Professors of Divinity, with scarcely an exception, have, in their religious principles, harmonized with its founders.

In pursuance of the same most important design, Mr. Hollis established his Professorship of Divinity, as will appear from the following extracts from his letters on the subject.* To President Leveret and Dr. Coleman, he writes, Sept. 23, 1620. "Your new proposal of a suitable stipend for a Divinity Professor, to read lectures to the students, surprises me. I could not have thought but in the standing of your college, you had made such provision long since. However, if not, or if I mistake your meaning, I desire you to explain to me more largely that matter, and to tell me how much will be called an honourable stipend.

"I further entreat you, Sirs, to cease your praises to me, I am weary of the thanks; it is over doing; I fear it should hurt the instrument, and swell the pride of a naughty heart. Who am I? Christ is my all. Little, very little, I can do for his name's sake, who has died for me and given me good hope through grace, and by his providence put it in my power, and inclined my heart to this way among others, of expressing my gratitude for his name's sake; to him be the glory of all."

In a letter to Dr. Coleman, of Jan. 17, 1721, he gives the following instructive and unaffected account of the religious exercises of his mind, which show him to have been a Christian of like excellent spirit, with the founders of the college. "Perhaps if I add some lines, you will not be displeased, and I would write for the glory of God, ascribing what I am to *rich, free, and sovereign, electing love*, manifesting forth his favour to me in time, by his word and ordinances.

"I was born, A.D. 1659, my father and mother then members of the same Church, (Pinner's Hall) Mr. Simpson and Mr. Cradock being pastors. By them I had a religious education, and was trained up in the knowledge of the Scriptures and *catechism*; and

* The information which follows, the writer wished for substance to have introduced before the Board of Overseers, believing it in point, and very important; but was denied, because he had only *extracts* to exhibit, and not the *originals*. [These extracts were taken from the *originals*, which were known at the time to be in the archives of the college.] This furnishes a principal reason for this publication.

had many early impressions of sin and duty in my youth, divers of which lie minuted by me, for occasional reviews, to this day ; and for my humbling to find the effects of *corrupt nature*, so early budding, notwithstanding the bridle and restraint I was under. About 1669, I had the small pox in a severe manner, and find I made promises of after care and amendment, if I recovered. But about 1670, I grew weary of private devotion, till by an unusual providence I was awakened to it again, and friendly advised, by a servant maid, to write down and keep minutes by me of passages relating to my soul, which might be of use in after trials and temptations to review.

"About 1671, I had fresh convictions of sin, and fears of hell, awakened in me under Mr. A. Palmer's ministry ; especially while he preached from 10 Matth. 23, which I often recollect ; and some time after from 36 Ezek. 26, 27th verses, made me pray for a thorough conversion to God.

"About 1672, I was sent to France, but by bad weather our ship was leaky, returned to the Downs, and she was sunk under Dover castle. I came ashore first in the boat, and returned to London with many pious resolutions in my mind.

"About 1673, I was sent to Sheffield in Yorkshire, on my father's business in trade ; where I gained more knowledge in religion under old Mr. Durant's preaching, and reading one of Mr. Polhill's books, treating of redemption, and the work of conversion. About 1674, I went to France, and lived in a sober family at Rouen. Being returned to London, and reading the Scriptures, my father being a Baptist in profession, I saw it to be my duty to own and profess the Christian religion, and from the command, 28 Matth. 19, to be baptized, and had lately received the encouraging hopes from 11 Matth. 28, and afterwards, from 6 John 37, a choice text, and 55 Isaiah 1st.

"About 1676, I made public confession of my faith and hope, and submitted to baptism ; desiring to evidence in my life the things signified thereby. After this, my father sent me on business, where I travelled far over in France ; being returned to London about 1677, I set myself to review what evidences I had of a converted state, and a Christian's duty, was to go forward in the ways of religion, and to show my love to Christ by keeping his commands, and I found church communion, and the Lord's Supper positive institutions ; in obedience to which, I addressed to Mr. Palmer, the pastor of the church, who encouraged me to offer myself to the church for examination of my right to it, which I did, and was accepted by them, admitted a member, written in their book. Oh may I be found written in the Lamb's book of life, and approved by him, as Judge in the great day ! Some time after, Mr. Palmer died, and Mr. Nowel was chosen pastor. There was then a numerous society, many knowing, praying men and women among us, almost all which now sleep in Jesus. I think we are but three alive, and I am the youngest, and have reason to mourn for my little proficiency in grace and knowledge.

"About 1700, I was chosen deacon of the church and accepted, and I have exercised a conscience therein, as to God, *in the care of all the tables*; but I see many defects in my best service, and flee to the covenant mercies of God in Christ. When I look back, and take a narrow view of my ways, that text is some refreshing to me, 1 Cor. 6, 11, with 3 Titus 3, &c.

"About 1707, Mr. JER. HUNT was chosen pastor, and by the grace of God we continue our church state, and meet in the same place; through good report, and evil surmises. Our numbers have been small some years, but we have walked in love, till lately, some few have been made uneasy, by a hot zeal without knowledge. Yet I hope shortly the innocence of the upright shall be manifested, and the blanderers be ashamed. We have need to pray for truth and peace with love: I desire your prayers, that I may be kept honest, and found faithful, and endure to the end, which is now nearer than when I first believed, bearing in heart and memory Jude's exhortation v. 20, 21, and joining in the same faith and doxology with him v. 24, 25.

"Having withdrawn myself in a good degree from trade, I have now liberty for reading and some services of goodness and charity; but do not find it easy, sometimes, to improve my time as I would to good purpose. I desire to have a regard to watch my thoughts; but oh, how unstable! I have with comfort lately perused Mr. Howe's book, called "*Blessedness of the Righteous*;" and long to have such thoughts more abiding. I make the Bible the rule of my life and practice, and ground of my future hopes, though I am very imperfect in works, and weak in faith.

"I have been a trader and merchant about forty years, and used diligence in my calling, without neglecting my family worship; and my God, whom I serve, has mercifully succeeded my endeavours, and with my increase inclined my heart to a proportionable distribution. I have credited the promise, *he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord*; I have found it verified in this life, and that 32 Isaiah 8. Glory be to his name. I have, through God's goodness, remaining for myself and family, [sufficient] to pay my just debts and to give to the needy, that asketh; and to meditate prudently some largesses over and above, as you will find, if the Lord succeed.

"And now what shall I render to the Lord for all these benefits? Glory be to his name. Oh give thanks with me. I think not *hereby to be justified*. My rejoicing is in *Jesus Christ my GOD and Saviour*. My hope is to be accepted in the beloved, and to be acquitted and justified before God the Father, *only on account of the obedience, active and passive, of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world*. He is the propitiation for our sins, and through faith in him I hope for peace with God, the continued influences of his Spirit, and complete redemption. Glory be to God in the highest, while we *adore the economy of the DIVINE THREE* in the revealed works of our salvation. Amen."

Let it be remembered, that Mr. Hollis here speaks of "*corrupt nature*" as the root of sin; that he ascribes the graces, which constitute his Christian character, "*to rich, free, and sovereign, electing, love;*" That his hope of justification and acceptance before God rested not, in any degree, on his numerous and useful charities, in which few men have ever exceeded him, but "*only on the obedience, active and passive, of the Lamb of God, the propitiation for our sins,*" through faith in whom he expected "peace with God, the continued *influences of his Spirit,* and complete redemption;" and lastly, that he "adores the economy of the DIVINE THREE, in the revealed works of our salvation." After this, it is presumed, no one will be disposed to deny that Mr. Hollis was a professed believer in the leading articles of that faith, which is commonly denominated *Calvinistic*.

If further evidence be required, however, it may be found in the following note, to a Poem, written immediately after his death. "I am informed," says the author, "that Mr. Hollis entertained a very honourable esteem for the doctrine of the *ever blessed TRINITY, the imputed righteousness of Christ, &c.* and that his *openly avowing these principles* was a check upon some, who appeared to have no great opinion of them."* Besides, in a letter to Dr. Coleman, Aug. 1728, accompanied with a present of an elegant set of *Calvin's Works*, he says, I imagine "they will please you, *as they do me.*"

Such was the religious faith and character of the founder of the Divinity Professorship in Harvard college. Is it probable that such a man would be indifferent, as to the doctrinal principles of his Professor, whether he were "a follower of Calvin, of Arminius, of Arius or Socinus?"† No one, surely, who understands the wide difference between these sects of Christians, can reasonably suppose it. It would be contrary to common sense, and to all experience, to believe that the founder of a Professorship of Divinity would not wish to have a Professor of the same religious sentiments with himself. He might, indeed, admit of shades of difference in points not very important, as is the fact in respect to Mr. Hollis, who was a man of great Christian candour and liberality. But we are not left to infer this from the nature of the case; there is abundant evidence to show, that he was remarkably particular in prescribing what should ever be the character and religious principles of his Professor, and in guarding against a departure from his orders.‡

In his "Rules, Orders, and Statutes," relating to his Professor, he is explicit in declaring what *shall* be his qualifications and principles, and in prescribing his duties. The *first* and *eleventh* Articles declare what shall be his qualifications and principles.

I. "That the Professor be a Master of Arts, and in communion

* Poem on the death of Mr. Hollis, by Sayer Rudd. London, 1731, p. 23.

† See Anthology for Feb. 1805, p. 78, and Centinel of Jan. 16, 1805.

‡ See the note at the close of the "True Reasons."

with some Christian church of one of the three denominations, Congregational, Presbyterian, or Baptist."

XI. "That the person, chosen from time to time to be a Professor, be a man of solid learning in Divinity, of *sound* or *orthodox principles*, one who is well gifted to teach, of a sober and pious life, and of a grave conversation."

The *second*, *fourth*, and *fifth* prescribe his duties.

II. "That his province be to instruct the students in the several parts of Theology, by reading a system of *positive*, and a course of *controversial Divinity*, beginning always with a short prayer."

IV. "That the Professor read publicly once a week upon Divinity, either *positive*, *controversial*, or *casuistical*; and as often upon Church History, critical Exposition of Scripture, or Jewish Antiquities, as the Corporation, with the approbation of the Overseers, shall judge fit, always terms of vacation excepted."

V. "That the Professor set apart two or three hours one afternoon in the week to answer such questions of the students, who shall apply to him, as refer to the system, or controversies of religion, or cases of conscience, or the seeming contradictions in Scripture."

We learn with what care and precision these statutes were formed, from Mr. Hollis's letter to Dr. Coleman, Aug. 8, 1721, in which he says, "In reference to your scheme for the Professor's work, on due consideration, I think it requires some amendments. I give thanks to Mr. Wadsworth for his paper; and to Mr. President and you for yours; it is a foundation to work upon, and I have consulted several worthy pastors of churches here, who have studied abroad, as at Edinburgh, Utrecht, Leyden, and are acquainted with the Professors of Divinity works there. I have desired them to make some little alterations in your scheme, and some remarks, as their reason for so doing, which, when finished, I shall send to you for your more mature consideration, believing you and they have nothing in view herein but furthering the glory of God."

And here naturally comes up to view the main point in the controversy, viz. what did Mr. Hollis mean by the phrase in the 11th article—"of *sound* or *orthodox principles*?" Did he, or did he not, mean that he should be of the principles commonly denominated *Calvinistic*? These words were not used by the founder without meaning. They were carefully examined, not only by Hollis himself, but by a number of the most learned divines, who had been educated at the first universities in Europe, and who must have perfectly understood the meaning of these terms. They evidently imply, that in the view of the founder, some sects of Christians were *sound* or *orthodox*, and that others were *unsound* or *heterodox*. The latter he meant to exclude from his Professorship. Will it be pretended that all sects of Christians are orthodox i.e. "*sound in opinion and doctrine*?"

It is believed no one will avow this sentiment. Some then must be heterodox. But who are they? Not Calvinists, for they are universally distinguished, nay, sometimes reproached, by the term *orthodox*. To no other sect of Christians has the term ever been applied. In all ecclesiastical history, the doctrines which Calvinists hold, as the truth of Scripture, and which, for substance, are comprised in the articles of the Church of England, and the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, in which Mr. Hollis was educated, have been denominated the *orthodox faith*, in distinction from the doctrines of Arminius, Arius, and Socinus, and their followers. The term has never been applied to the faith of any of these sects of Christians.

But if a doubt remain in the mind of any person, as to the meaning of these terms in the article before us, it must vanish when it is recollected what was the religious faith of the man who used them. Every man has a right to explain his own language; and certainly it would be very absurd to suppose that Mr. Hollis, by "*sound or orthodox principles*," meant Arminian, Arian, or Socinian principles, which are all *essentially* different from his own. The principles of these sects are the principles, beyond all reasonable doubt, which he meant to *exclude* from his Professorship.

And this is made as certain as the nature of the case will admit, from the character and *principles* of his first Professor, who was a man after his own heart; of whom he thus speaks in a letter to Dr. Coleman. "I am *mightily* pleased with the character you give of the gentleman you have *proposed* to be my first Professor;" After his election, and an intimate correspondence for about ten years,* and a knowledge of the manner in which he executed the duties of his office, Mr. Hollis continued his high approbation. The choice of his first Professor was conducted in the following manner, which evinces that the religious *principles* of the candidate were a matter of *primary* concern with the electors, and that they were careful to adhere to the statutes of the founder. "At a meeting of the corporation, 23 Jan. 1722, the corporation having discoursed among themselves about choosing a Professor of Divinity on Mr. Hollis's foundation, and having formerly had their thoughts on Mr. Wigglesworth for that service, they sent for him, and having discoursed him in general, and put such questions to him in particular, as by his answers gave them satisfaction about the *soundness, and orthodoxy of his principles in Divinity*, they did elect the said Mr. E. Wigglesworth to be Professor of Divinity on Mr. Hollis's foundation."†

* That is, till the death of Mr. Hollis.

† The late Professor Wigglesworth, the son and successor of the first Professor was elected to office, July 22, 1765. It appears that he also was sent for by the corporation, and inquiry made concerning his principles in divinity, whether they were *orthodox*, according to the doctrines of the churches of Christ with us, to which he gave full and satisfactory answers."

[“ At a meeting of the overseers, &c. Jan. 24, 1721—2. **The** Rev. President reported to the overseers, that the corporation had proceeded to make choice of Mr. Edward Wigglesworth to be Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, and that *preceding* the choice *they had examined* the said Mr. Wigglesworth upon several most important heads in divinity, *which heads were severally named in the presence of the overseers*, and the method of proceeding by the President and fellows in this important affair was *greatly to their satisfaction*. Then the Rev. President presented the said Mr. W. to the overseers for their approbation and confirmation. And the question being put, whether the overseers confirmed the said choice of the said Mr. W. to be a Professor of Divinity in Harvard College? voted in the affirmative.

“ Ordered by the overseers, that a minute be taken and *recorded* of the several heads in divinity upon which the Rev. President and fellows had examined Mr. Wigglesworth, viz. That he *appeared before the corporation and declared his assent*, 1. To Dr. Ames’s *Medulla Theologiæ*. 2. To the Confession of Faith contained in the Assembly’s Catechism. 3. To the doctrinal articles of the church of England; more particularly, 1. To the doctrine of the *Holy Trinity*. 2. To the doctrine of the *Eternal Godhead of our blessed Saviour*. 3. To the doctrine of predestination. 4. To the doctrine of special efficacious grace. 5. To the divine right of infant baptism.”]*

In this Professor then, we have the best possible evidence, what religious principles were required by the founder, and sought by the electors, and of course the best exposition of the true meaning of *sound* and *orthodox*, as used in the statutes. Dr. Wigglesworth was a *sound* and *orthodox* man, in the opinion of the founder and of the electors. What then were Dr. Wigglesworth’s religious principles? On this point we are not left in uncertainty. We have full evidence that he was a Calvinist. In his private lectures to the students, he “explained the *Westminster Confession of Faith*.”† But I shall not be disputed on the point of Dr. Wigglesworth’s Calvinism.

Such then, in fact, was the Professor of Mr. Hollis’s choice. And who has a right to say he would have approved of a man for that important office of very different religious principles? for example of an Arminian or an Arian? To say this would imply, that Mr. Hollis had but little regard for, or confidence in his own principles, which it appears by his letters was very far from being the case.

The following documents manifest the solicitude of Mr. Hollis, lest his bequests to the College, these particularly for the sup-

* The two paragraphs in brackets are added from the Records of the Overseers, obtained since the first publication of this pamphlet.

† See Prof. Wigglesworth Lect. on the Imputation of Adam’s first sin. Boston, 1738. Preface.

port of a Divinity Professor, should be perverted to other purposes than were intended by him, and show what means he adopted to guard against such perversion.

In a letter to Dr. Coleman, of Jan. 14, 1723, he says, "I was displeased to hear that another person at your Board, should say to this effect, on reading my orders, that *when Mr. Hollis was dead, they could make new orders for him.*" It seems by this, that the disposition to disregard Mr. Hollis's orders was not peculiar to the present time. It is presumed, were the founder now living, he would not be less displeased at the *construction* some are disposed to put on his "*orders,*" than he was at the suggestion, that *new ones* might be *made for him* after his decease.

In the same letter he adds, "I wait to see your Corporation's obligation, and how you shall *continue* to act." In a letter of the 18th of March following, he renews the subject of the *bond* and says, that it is the unanimous advice of Gov. Shute, lords Barington, and Bendish, Mr. Neal, and Mr. Hunt, that I should *insist* on it to have such an obligation, as strong as may be according to your promise in former letters I should have, that in *all times coming the Corporation will perform my Trust in the manner appointed in my Orders, and not divert the monies devoted, to any other uses;* and in case of default hereof to my mind, that then, by the power I have reserved to myself, I may devise it over to—for other uses discoursed of,—which, if you ask your governor at his return, he will tell you more largely."

"I am of opinion, when you have received the letters sent you, as above mentioned, your Corporation will come into it to send me an obligation, as desired, without waiting for a copy of a draft from me. If I do not think it full enough, I may alter it, and return it; and it *will not be prudent for you to delay it.*"

This bond was accordingly given by the Corporation, to Mr. Hollis, and bears date A.D. 1725, Sept. 23. The following is an extract from it.

"Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to inspire Mr. Thomas Hollis, merchant in London, with most pious and generous designs for the honour of our great and glorious Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the good of mankind, &c.

"And, whereas the said Mr. Thomas Hollis is minded, and desirous, for his better satisfaction, to have some Act or Instrument obligatory, binding the said President and Fellows of Harvard College and their *Successors*, unto the *faithful* discharge of the Trust reposed in them, and to the *inviolable observance* of the *Statutes and Orders* aforesaid :

"Now Know ye, that the said B. Wadsworth President, B. Coleman, H. Flynt, E. Wigglesworth, N. Appleton, and E. Hutchinson, Fellows of Harvard College aforesaid, being like minded and desirous to give to the said Mr. T. Hollis all *satisfaction* and *assurance* of their *faithful* discharge of the trust reposed

in them, and their *inviolable observance*, as much as in them lies, of the *Statutes and Orders* aforesaid, do profess, testify, and declare, that as they are holden and strictly obliged by the college *charter* to observe religiously the will of the Donors and Benefactors to the said College in all disposals of their donations, so by these Presents the said President and Fellows do firmly bind and oblige themselves and their *Successors* in the same offices and trust, in all time coming, to manage, order, and dispose all the monies, that have been sent over by the said Mr. T. Hollis and received by the college treasurer, *viz.* 3670.13.0.2l. or that shall hereafter be sent over and received, and apply the income thereof *conformably to the Statutes and Orders* aforesaid; and in *all things* and at *all times* shall and will *faithfully* perform the trust reposed in them, the said President and Fellows of Harvard College and their *Successors, &c.*"*

In 1726, Oct. 10th, Mr. Hollis again writes Dr. Coleman thus, "I desire you, Sir, to give me a particular account of my Professor of Divinity, how he performs *agreeably to my written Orders*, and wherein he is wanting in complying with them."

The articles, which prescribe the duty of the Divinity Professor, have been recited. One part of his duty is to read "a system of *positive divinity*," which comprehends "an entire scheme of all the tenets which a Christian is bound to believe and profess. The truth of these the Divine must clearly perceive, and be able to enforce upon his audience."† He is also to give a course of lectures on controversial Divinity, and on suitable occasions to treat of "*Casuistic Theology*, or the science which decides on doubtful cases of moral Theology, and that calms the scruples of conscience, which arise in the Christian's soul during his journey through the present world."‡

It was the intention of Mr. Hollis, expressed in his orders, that his Professor should instruct the students of the college in all these branches of Theology, and he was solicitous to know of Dr. Coleman, whether his orders were duly regarded. From the preface of the Professor's Lecture before alluded to, it appears, that they were obeyed, that he did lecture on *positive*, as well as *controversial* Theology; and that on controverted points, he never failed at the close, to give his own sentiments.||

* The penalty of this bond, is a forfeiture of the fund to the heirs of Mr. Hollis.

† Encyclopedia, Art. Theology. ‡ Ibid.

|| The closing paragraph of the preface just mentioned, evinces the piety of this worthy Professor, and the deep sense he had of the weight of his office. "I shall add no more, but my earnest request for the Reader's prayers, that God would graciously lead me from time to time into a clear apprehension of Divine Truths; that he would enable me to represent them to the satisfaction and establishment of those who will probably hereafter be the dispensers of them to this people through the land; and that he would strengthen me to bear the great application, which my own insufficiency, and the importance of the duties of the trust reposed in me, call for."

These things are mentioned to combat an opinion now avowed, and becoming too fashionable among us, that the Professor of Divinity should not disclose his own particular religious sentiments to the students, but only place fairly before them all the tenets of the different sects of Christians, with their respective arguments, and leave each student to form his own creed. It is of course pleaded, that it is of little importance what are the religious opinions of the Professor, "whether he be a Calvinist, Arian, Socinian or Latitudinarian, provided he be a learned, pious, moral man; capable of diffusing instruction, and anxious to discharge his duty with fidelity."*

On this plan, a learned *unbeliever* in the Christian revelation, would make the most unexceptionable Divinity Professor in a college, as being most free from prejudice in favour of any of the different schemes of Christianity. And next to him one of those Christians, "who have no preference of one style of divinity to another." But whatever be the best plan of conducting the theological instruction in a college of young men, this is certain, that Mr. Hollis never intended his Professor should instruct his pupils in the manner now described. His orders enjoin a very different mode.

In perfect coincidence with Mr. Hollis's design in founding his Divinity Professorship, and with his view of the duties of his Professor, Daniel Henchman, Esq. of Boston, as late as in 1747, left a legacy to aid in the support of the Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, expressly on the following condition; "so long as the person in that office shall be a member in full communion with some Congregational or Presbyterian church, and shall *profess* and *teach* the principles of the Christian religion, according to the well known *confession of faith*, drawn up by the synod of the churches in New-England. But if at any time hereafter the person who shall be in the office of Hollisian Professor shall not *profess* and *teach* according to the aforesaid *confession of faith*, then the annual interest aforesaid, shall be given by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, to some deserving student of the said college, whose parents are not able to be at the charge of his public education; and who shall also be approved of by the pastors of the Old South church in Boston for the time being."†

Such, as have now been stated, are facts relative to the foundation of this Professorship, and such the qualifications and principles required by Mr. Hollis in his Professor, and sought and found by former electors. Things being so, when called upon at the board of overseers to concur with the Corporation in their choice of a Hollis Professor of Divinity, it was conceived proper

* See Centinel, Jan. 16, 1805; Piece signed *Constant Reader*.

† Has this legacy been so appropriated since the election of Professor Ware?

and necessary to inquire,* Does the candidate possess the qualifications required by the founder? Is he of *sound* or *orthodox* principles? Did the electors, previous to their choice, examine the candidate, as was done in the case of the two first Professors, as to his *orthodoxy*? These questions were accordingly asked, but no satisfactory answers were given. It was observed, that the candidate had not been examined by the corporation, and the propriety of such a procedure was doubted. The *right* to examine, indeed, was denied. The particular religious principles of the candidate, though often asked for, were not disclosed, and are, it is believed, still unknown to a great part of the members of the Board, except so far as they may be inferred from the silence of his friends, from negative evidence, and from his catechism. It was particularly asked by one of the honourable members of the Senate, whether the candidate was a believer in that important doctrine, *the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ*? The reply conveyed no precise or satisfactory answer on that point. While thus ignorant of the "*principles*" of the candidate, how could the Board determine whether or not they were "*sound* or *orthodox*," whatever be the meaning of these terms? From the catechism published by the candidate,† it was inferred, that he was not a Calvinist; that his sentiments on important points, such as the depravity of human nature, the impotency of man, the character of Jesus Christ, and the future state of the wicked, were widely different from those of Dr. Watts, whose catechism he professedly followed, as his "*model*," in compiling his own, so closely, indeed, as in general to adopt the same questions and answers.‡

* The discussion before the Board was opened by the Hon. Mr. Titcomb of the Senate, who after some preliminary observations moved, that the following Papers be read.

1. "The Charter of Harvard College.
2. "The terms or conditions on which the grant to the college was made by Mr. Hollis for the support of a Professor of Divinity.
3. "All the doings of the College, to comply with the request of the Donor, which relate to the Professor of Divinity!" The Charter, Statutes, Bond of the Corporation, and the "Declaration to be made by the Professor were then read."

† The name of the Rev. Dr. Shute is also prefixed to this Catechism.

‡ The following specimen will show the reader the difference between Dr. Watts's and Mr. Ware's Catechisms, on some important and distinguishing doctrinal points.

Dr. WATT'S'S Catechism, 2d Part.

33. Q. Whence comes it to pass that you have been such a sinner?

A. I was *born* into the world with *inclinations to do that which is evil*; and I have too much indulged these inclinations all my life.

34. Q. How came you to be born with such an inclination to evil?

A. All mankind are born in sin, because they come from Adam, the first man who sinned against God.

Mr. Ware's Catechism, 2d Part.

Q. 43. Whence came it to pass that you have been such a sinner?

A. I *became* so by an unguarded and foolish *indulgence* of my irregular appetites and passions, in opposition to the law written in my heart, and to the plain dictates of the Holy Scriptures.

Omitted.

Other observations were made, particularly on a discourse of the candidate lately published, tending to show that he did not possess those "*sound or orthodox principles*" in divinity, which in the view of the minority, the founder, in his statutes, explicitly required. On this point *wholly*, was rested the opposition to the candidate, so far as respected him personally. His character as a man, a scholar, and a citizen, was treated with the utmost respect.*

41. Q. Is not Jesus Christ God as well as man?

A. Though he be a man, yet he is God also; for he is a glorious person, in whom God and man are joined together, and his name is Immanuel, or God with us.

43. Q. How could Christ obtain pardon and life for us, by his doing or suffering?

A. Our sins had deserved death, but Christ was the Son of God, and perfectly righteous, and God appointed him to suffer death, to *take away our sins*, and to bring us into his favour.

50. Q. Is not your heart itself sinful, and have you power of yourself to repent of sin, and to trust in Christ, and obey him?

A. We have *sinful hearts*, and cannot do these duties of *ourselves*; but God has promised his own holy Spirit, if we pray for it, to *renew our hearts* to holiness, and help us to do his will.

54. Q. What is Baptism?

A. It is a washing with water in the name of the *Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*.

Omitted.

Part 3d. Q. 4. How could Christ obtain pardon and life for us, by his doing and suffering?

A. By the gracious appointment of the Father, who was pleased to accept the obedience of Christ unto death, as a *vindication* of his righteous government in granting pardon to penitent sinners, and raising them to a happy immortality.

Omitted.

Q. 17, What is Baptism?

A. It is a solemn washing with water as a *sign*, or *distinguishing mark* of our belonging to the *visible* church of Christ, who has enjoined a compliance with this rite, upon all who believe his Gospel, and hope for salvation through him.

There appears to be nothing in Mr. Ware's catechism, which an Arminian, Arian, or a Universalist on Dr. Chauncy's scheme, would not readily subscribe.

* The writer takes the opportunity here to disavow all personal views and feelings in opposing the election of Mr. Ware, for whom he entertains very sincere respect. He deeply regrets the necessity laid upon him, as he conceived, to act the part he has acted in this important affair. He is conscious, that he has not been influenced by any sinister motive; but from a sense of duty. The injudicious publications in the Newspapers, in favour of the election of Mr. Ware, and intended to have a double effect, to raise him, and to depress those who thought it their duty to promote the election of a man of different sentiments; and afterward when these publications assumed a controversial shape, the attempts which were made with too much success, to suppress information on one side, and to control the presses; these and many other measures, which were adopted to carry the election of a favourite candidate, it was early foreseen, if persisted in, would lead on to serious controversy. The part which the writer has hitherto taken in this controversy, and the disposition too apparently manifested in some periodical publications,† in the Newspapers, and other ways, to misrepresent and misstate important facts, rendered it necessary to his own vindication, to make this appeal to the public, and to lay before them the true grounds of the controversy. The determination to make this appeal was not made rashly. It was the result of much and serious deliberation. The delicacy of the subject, as it respects the writer, on several accounts, is sensibly felt, and the probable consequences have been maturely weighed. He has only fulfilled what he felt to be an imperious duty, and he has endeavoured to fulfil it in a manner which shall exempt him from any just censure, from those who differ from him.

† See the *Anthology*, and *Centinel* of Feb. 13, 1805.

It is proper in this place to notice a misrepresentation, which has gone abroad, in respect to the views of the minority, in opposing the election of Mr. Ware. A writer in the *Anthology of February*, before alluded to, would have it understood, that the election of this gentleman to the Professorship, was opposed *merely* because he was not a *Calvinist*, and that this conduct is "uncandid and intolerant." This is a heavy charge, and that I have not fabricated it, the reader shall determine from his own words, which follow. "Though not a follower of the Reformer of Geneva, the present writer could never think of objecting to a man as a public instructor, that he was a Calvinist; and he must do so much justice to those who think with him, as to assert, that they are generally incapable (as indeed are all sensible men of different sentiments) of a proceeding so uncandid and intolerant. It is very well known, however, that the alarm has been raised, Beware, he is an Arminian! he is an Arian!"

Fœnum habet in cornu—longe fuge!

Feeling, as I do, most seriously interested in the prosperity of our Alma Mater, I shall lament, as deeply injurious to her usefulness and reputation, that hour, when her present liberal principles shall be exchanged for subscriptions to Articles of Faith; or, what is the same thing, when the belief of a certain speculative system shall be esteemed necessary in him, who aspires to the honourable station of an instructor of her sons. The next step, a very short one, is to require such a condition from youth at their matriculation; to turn the college catalogue into an *Index Expurgatorius*; and to expel from the shelves of the library all heretical publications. So shall an access of error be prohibited, and the fountain of knowledge shall flow with an unpolluted stream from generation to generation.*

One would be ready to conclude, from these observations, that the intolerant spirit of persecution had made its appearance among us, that we were in danger of an inquisitorial establishment, and that another caliph *Omar* was about to arise, and order the heretical books in the college library to be burnt; and all this forsooth, because some persons, who verily believe that Mr. Hollis in his statutes, requires that his Professor should be a Calvinist, have thought proper, in fidelity to their trust, to oppose the election of Mr. Ware, who they had good reason to believe is not a Calvinist, to that office! Here is the true foundation of all the

* See also an impassioned effusion in the *Centinel* of the 13th of Feb. (the day before the election) headed "*Reflections on Religious Persecutions*," and subscribed *Eirenepoios*. This angry writer asserts, that "We are no longer referred to the Bible, as a rule of faith, but to the *Westminster Catechism*, &c." That "the creed of Christ and the Apostles is to be abandoned for the criticism of Commentators, and old metaphysical Doctors of Divinity, are to give us the articles of our faith," &c. when he well knew, that gentlemen to whom he alludes, avowedly consider the *Bible* as the *only* standard of religious truth, and that they view the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, not as "a codicil to the New Testament," but only as an excellent summary of the doctrines of Revelation. Such is the candor of *liberal men*!

hue and cry that has been raised about "intolerance, bigotry, persecution, subscription to articles of faith," &c. To what times are we arrived, when one cannot, even with all the circumspection and candour he is capable of, discharge a solemn duty incumbent upon him, without incurring such abuse? *O tempora! O Mores!* But to return.

The advocates for the election of the candidate, rested their defence chiefly on the following

"Plan or form for the Professor of Divinity to agree to at his inauguration."

"That he repeat his oaths to the civil government, that he declare it as his belief that the Scriptures of the old and new testament are the only perfect rule of faith and manners, and that he promise to explain and open the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and faithfulness, according to the best light that God shall give him. That he promise to promote true piety and godliness by his example and instruction; that he consult the good of the college and the peace of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ on all occasions: and that he religiously observe the statutes of his founder, and all such other statutes and orders as shall be made by the college not repugnant thereunto."

This "declaration," they contended, in which the Professor "declares it as his belief that the Scriptures of the old and new testament are the only perfect rule of faith and manners, and that he promise to explain and open the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and faithfulness, according to the best light which God shall give him," was intended by the founder to explain his statutes, and whoever, possessing the other qualifications required, could subscribe this declaration and promise, was, to all intents and purposes "of sound and orthodox principles," in the sense the founder meant to be understood in using those terms.

It was said in reply, that the Board of Overseers, in deciding the pending election, had no concern with the declaration; that it was a transaction *subsequent* to our decision, and that the statutes and orders of the founder, were our *only* guide. But supposing the right to explain the statutes of the founder by the declaration were admitted, it throws no light on the meaning of the terms, "sound or orthodox." These terms were made use of to designate and identify one of the many particular schemes of religious principles and doctrines, adopted by the various sects of Christians, or they are without meaning and superfluous.

Now what light does the declaration afford for determining which of the various schemes of religious principles was meant to be designated by the founder, by the terms "sound or orthodox?" Certainly none at all. Can the Christian be named, of any sect or party, from the most rigid to the most liberal, who would refuse to subscribe to the declaration in question? Athanasius and Arius, Calvin and Arminius, Socinus and Swedenburgh, Edwards and Priestly, would all with equal readiness, and might

with equal sincerity, have promised "to explain, and open the Scriptures with integrity and faithfulness, according to the best light that God should give them." But would it be proper thence to infer, that all these men were of sound or orthodox principles," and that Mr. Hollis would have been indifferent, which of these men, had they all been living in his time, should be placed in his Professor's chair?

The truth is, Mr. Hollis meant, that his "*Orders and Statutes*" should be the only guide of the Electors, in filling his Professor's chair; and after they had chosen a man of "*sound or orthodox principles*," then it was his will that the Professor, at his inauguration, should declare and promise, as is customary in all colleges, what has been stated. It could never have been intended by the founder, that the declaration should be used to explain, much less to nullify, an important clause in his statutes relative to this election. But, it is believed, this was the only expedient to get rid of it, and therefore adopted. Gentlemen no doubt satisfied their own consciences in reasoning in this manner, and acted according to their conclusions; but in the opinion of the minority, at least of some of them, the reasoning was sophistical, and the conclusion unwarrantable.

It was observed also by one of the advocates of the election, that the *orthodoxy* of Mr. Hollis was doubtful, because his minister, the Rev. Mr. Hunt, was a "*heterodox*" man. Is the orthodoxy of deacons,* then, to be determined by that of their ministers? May not Mr. Hollis have been in the situation of some other deacons, of like mild, forbearing, candid and peaceable dispositions, who maintain their "*orthodoxy with charity*" for their "*heterodox*" ministers? But is the fact abovementioned (if it be indeed a fact, for no proof of it was exhibited) to be set in balance against all the evidence, which has been stated in proof of Mr. Hollis's orthodoxy? A man must have a strong desire to be convinced, to be satisfied with such reasoning. The same may be said concerning some expressions in Mr. Hollis's letters, which have been eagerly seized, as evidence to prove him to be, what no one ever doubted him to be, a candid, catholic, and liberal man, a *Calvinist*, of the stamp of Watts, Doddridge, Tappan, and a thousand others.

A few observations were then made by the opposers of the election, on the *inexpediency* of confirming the choice of the Corporation. It would be a departure, it was said, from the religious principles on which the college was founded, and under the influence of which it had hitherto flourished; it would tend to alienate the affections and confidence of a great and respectable body of the clergy and citizens from the University; and produce new, and probably *warm religious contentions*, in the Commonwealth, already lamentably distracted with those of a political nature. It

* Mr. Hollis was a deacon of Mr. Hunt's church.

was added, that wisdom, and regard to our peace and safety, obviously dictated the selection of a man for Professor, who in respect to his religious principles, was on the *middle ground*, between the two existing extremes among us, whose sentiments were coincident with those of Dr. Doddridge, or the late amiable and excellent Professor Tappan.

The question was then taken, *fifty-six* being present, when it appeared, that *thirty-three* were in favour of approving the choice of the Corporation, and *twenty-three* against; and so the choice of the Rev. Henry Ware, as Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, was confirmed.

It is known that the Corporation, consisting at the present time of only six members, were at one time equally divided between two candidates; and that the choice was finally, after several weeks, determined by the change of an individual vote.

Thus was decided a question of incalculable consequence to the future prosperity and usefulness of the university. We have seen for what objects, and with what care, this literary institution was originally founded. The Charter secures to the benefactors the *appropriate* use of their bequests. So does the Constitution of the Commonwealth, which contains the following clause. "It is declared that all the said gifts, grants, devices, legacies and conveyances, are hereby for ever confirmed unto the President and fellows of Harvard College, and to their successors, in the capacity aforesaid, according to *the true intent and meaning* of the donor or donors, grantor or grantors, deviser or devisors."

We have seen the singular anxiety and caution of Mr. Hollis by his *letters*, and by a *bond*, to secure the object of his Foundation, and to guard his Professorship against error and innovation in all future time.* Now if barriers, so sacred, can be removed, what guard can be devised, which shall secure any bequest against violation? What assurance can any well disposed persons in future have, that any donations they may wish to make to Harvard College, will be applied to their objects, even one century? How this will affect future benefactions it is easy to predict. What effect this change in the religious character of the Professorship, and of the University, will gradually and ultimately produce in the state of our churches, and on the religious and moral character

* [Hear what Dr. Wigglesworth, Mr. Hollis's first professor, says on this point. His opinions must have great weight with all who know the high respectability and worth of his character.

A sermon (p. 21.) preached at the public Lecture, Tuesday, April 6, 1791, in the Hall of Harvard College, upon the news of the death of Thomas Hollis, Esq. by Prof. Wigglesworth, contains the following paragraph.

"'Tis no mean stroke in his character, in my account, *That he did not content himself to make ample bequests to this society, and then leave it to the consciences of them who had or might hereafter have the direction of it to see that they were well improved; but hath from first and last taken the utmost care to put it (as far as was possible) out of our power to misimprove them, or in any measure to defeat his pious intentions.* This looks not like one, that sought the praise of men, but who was sincerely concerned that the *USEFULNESS*, as well as the *memory* of his bounties might be perpetuated to the glory of God, and the real good of his people."

The preceding note was not in the first edition of this pamphlet.

of our citizens, cannot with so much certainty be foreseen. In respect to New-England, it is an untried experiment. God forbid, that this change should be injurious and ruinous; that in consequence, the faith of our churches should become less pure, their discipline less strict, the standard of Christian morality lowered, the difference lessened between those who professedly serve God, and those who avowedly serve him not; till at length the spirit and power of our religion shall have evaporated, and its very forms be abolished.*

"For Christ and the Church," was this ancient college founded by men, whom we delight to call our Fathers; "for Christ and the Church" has it hitherto been cherished, instructed and governed, by men of like Christian principles and spirit; "for Christ and the Church" O may the God of our Fathers, who still lives and reigns, in mercy preserve it, so long as the sun and the moon shall endure!

Here ends the Pamphlet.

Notwithstanding the solid reasons assigned for making this publication, in the note at the beginning, and in other parts of the pamphlet,† I have been much censured for it, particularly because it was published *after* the election had been constitutionally decided,‡ and because, being an *Alumnus* of another College, it was *officious* in me to intermeddle, in this manner, in the management of the affairs of this institution.

Both these objections, if they prove any thing, prove too much. If the first has any weight, it has equal weight against all free and candid discussion of any measure, however erroneous and pernicious it may appear to the minority, *after* it has passed through the constitutional forms; which, if admitted, would go to condemn all the political discussions, which censure the measures of the present national administration, and all other discussions of a similar kind. If any weight be given to the latter objection, the necessary consequences are so obvious, and would bear so hard on the character, for understanding and liberality, of any one who would venture *seriously* to make such objection, that I will not condescend to give it an answer. No man, who has a common portion of understanding and self respect, will ever risk his reputation by bringing forward, with his name, such an objection.|| The right, therefore, to discuss this sub-

* See the second and third chapters of the Revelation of St. John.

† See particularly page 50.

‡ See Anthology, vol. ii. p. 213.

|| Since writing the above sentence, I happened to cast my eye on the following sentence in the Anthology [vol. ii. p. 213] in the answer to my Remarks, on the Review of the "True Reasons, &c."

"It is singular, that scarcely one of her own sons should appear to espouse the duty or interest of our Alma Mater, or the principles of the Founders of the University, and that she should be indebted, for this tenderness and respect, principally to strangers." The discovery of this sentence, while it proves that such an objection, as I have suggested, was actually made at the time, produces in me no disposition to alter my reply. I will add, in vindication of the "sons of Harvard," that

ject, so important in its nature and consequences, even ~~after~~ it had been constitutionally decided, must, on every correct principle, be admitted. And no truly liberal mind, I presume, will be disposed to question *my right* to engage in this discussion, merely because I received my education at another College. That this discussion was conducted, on my part, before the Overseers, with honour, fairness, and candour; in a manner that could give no *just* offence, the most unequivocal testimony was given at the time. The contrary, I presume, will not now be pretended. Whether "the pamphlet," which followed, and which is in the preceding pages, is of a character, that deserves the censure it has received, or contains matter, such as ought to provoke, and will justify, the violent and unrelenting persecution, which I have suffered in consequence of its publication, the public will now be able to examine and decide for themselves.

Of the effects of this pamphlet the reader may form some idea from the following extracts.

In April, 1805, about a month after the pamphlet appeared, a friend wrote me as follows, "I ought to tell you, that friends all passionately commend "True Reasons." The — folks are as sore as if they had cancers in their hearts. I saw one of them on Saturday. He says, that Mr. — is orthodox; that if Dr. M. had only visited him, he might have been satisfied, that his publication, *after the election, was wrong, that he has injured the feelings of his best friends; that his usefulness is, &c.*"

In Nov. 1812, another friend, urging me against an appeal to the public, which I then contemplated, and alluding to the "power of popular prejudice," writes thus—"I will give you an instance in one, who had no prejudice of his own. He mentioned that it was *astonishing* how much the public were disaffected toward you; that your many virtues were buried in the affairs of — * and "TRUE REASONS."

Another letter from another source, and about the same date, addressed to a friend of mine, has the following passage, "So decidedly and strongly is *the tide of public opinion* against Dr. M. [mark, the reason assigned,] ON ACCOUNT OF THE DECISIVE PART HE HAS TAKEN IN THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS, and as far as known, on account of the *open attacks on his character, &c.*" These letters are all from persons who move in the circles of the *opposition*; who are conversant with their opinions; who know their feelings, and who are credible witnesses of what they relate. If such in truth was the state of *public opinion*, so far as

though some of them have renounced the faith, and the "principles of the Founders" of their *Alma Mater*; yet the number is not *small*, nor their talents and character without great weight in the community, who, with "these *strangers*," feel all this "tenderness and respect for the University," and who with them also, lament the change it has experienced, in regard to its religious character and influence.

* An affair which has been proved, by the most unquestionable testimony, to have been gross, and groundless calumny.

respected the opposers of orthodoxy, and all whom they could influence, was it not time for me to attempt, at least, to correct this public opinion, by a statement of facts,—by a refutation of calumnies? If this shall have no effect to change determined opposers, it may at least prevent their influence in perverting and alienating friends, and the upright and fair minded in the community. It may check the tide of calumny, and ultimately turn it against those, who have wickedly put it in motion.

The foregoing Pamphlet was published, as nearly as I can now recollect, about the 20th of March, 1805, and a review of it appeared, the *same month*, in the Anthology, i.e. within 10 or 15 days after its publication. In the next number of that work, for April, appeared my *Remarks* on this review, and an *Answer* to these *Remarks*. In these documents, which may be found in the Anthology, vol. ii. p. 152, and 206, 216, the reader will be able to discover the sort of *spirit* and *reasoning*, with which I have had ever since to contend. From this time, and for the reasons now exhibited, many gentlemen of respectability, and of high standing and extensive influence in society, who had been in the habit of treating me courteously and respectfully, with whom I had had familiar and confidential intercourse, saw fit to treat me with neglect, and some of them, of warmer feelings and less extended views, even with disrespect. All this, though one would hardly have expected such treatment from *liberal men*, would have passed by, without regard on my part; for I trust that I had not, at that period of my life, to learn how unwise and foolish it is, to depend for my happiness, on the favour of any man, or any class of men whatever. Knowing, as I did, the *real cause* of this alienation and neglect, that it was a cause which involved the *rights of conscience*; that I could not remove it without a departure from my duty, without violating the dictates of my conscience, I bore the trial with patience; I felt no regrets at the course I had pursued; no mortification at the consequences; no disposition to retaliate, resent, or complain. But when my opposers, with an ingenuity worthy of their talents and their principles, concealing the *real cause* of their sudden and total change of conduct toward me, undertook to assign *other causes* to justify this change of conduct, causes too which had no foundation in *truth*, destructive of character, and so mean, so delicate, so perplexed in their nature, so difficult to unravel and expose, that a man of honourable and correct principles and feelings, and duly estimating the value of time, could hardly bring himself to condescend to notice, examine, and refute them; then it was I began to feel; and I trust my feelings were such as the religion I profess and preach authorize and justify. It was a mode of attack little expected from those, who condescended to adopt it. It has been pursued, as will be seen in the sequel, with an ingenuity, address, and obstinacy, which have at length rendered indispensable another mode of resistance, than that which had hitherto been opposed to it. That mode is this

APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC. My opposers have had the cunning, I cannot refrain adding, the *meanness*, to *conceal* themselves in this contest; to put forward, as their organ and *champion*, Miss HANNAH ADAMS; to use her groundless complaints and accusations, as their weapons of warfare!! It is high time this frail covering should be removed out of harm's way, (and from the regard I have for the sex, I wish it may be done with as much gentleness, delicacy and tenderness as possible) and that she should be disarmed of the weapons, with which she has so long supplied my assailants, and for which she has received ample remuneration. It is time the public should know, *who are in truth the parties in this controversy, and what are its real grounds.* This is my object in making this Appeal. With these views I shall now resume the history of the transactions relative to the history of New-England.*

Contemplated edition of the Compendious History of New-England, by Mess'rs Cushing and Appleton, of Salem, Nov. 1805.

Of this transaction Miss A. complains in the two following letters, which were *never sent* to Dr. P. and myself, but were exhibited at the Reference, by Miss A. through her Agent, when they were seen by me, for the first time. No occurrence, other than has been noticed, relative to this controversy, worthy our attention, that I recollect, took place from Nov. 1804, when Dr. P. had his interview with Miss A. till the date of the following letters. The letter to Mr. SHAW, and also the letters which follow, and the complaints which they contain, it should be remembered, were wholly unknown to Dr. P. and myself for years after, except what was disclosed in a conversation with Mr. HIGGINSON on the subject, which will be mentioned in its place.

* When I speak of my *opposers*, I wish not to be misunderstood. My observations are by no means intended to apply indiscriminately to the whole party in the opposition; but to the active and prominent *leaders* of this party. It is not necessary that I should name them. Their known, and open conduct, sufficiently designates them. The measures which have been carrying on for the last nine or ten years, in reference to the University at Cambridge, (to adopt, and apply the sentiments, and in part the language, of a distinguished moral writer, in another case,) appear to me to be ruinous to the best, I mean the *religious*, interests of that ancient, and very venerable Institution. At the same time I am sensible, that there are many worthy and good men, who join in most of these measures, while they would detest, I trust, the means used by the leaders I have alluded to, for their accomplishment. One great end of this Appeal, is to open the eyes of such men, "both on their employment, and company."

A train of circumstances, not always in our power, sometimes leads good men themselves to support the most corrupt part of a community in their public measures. The boundaries of prudence and zeal, are not easily fixed; union of opinion, either in politics or religion, often establishes a connection between men of very opposite principles, and morals; and there are few greater instances of the weakness of human nature, than the readiness of men to give protection and countenance to those, who are worse than themselves, because they are staunch friends to their *party* views. Such complacency do some take in this, as an exercise of Christian charity and tenderness, that it is wonderful to think, what they will do, and much more wonderful that they are not ashamed of it, but openly, and to all appearance, honestly, defend it.

MISS A. TO DR. MORSE. [never sent.]

Rev. Sir,

BEVERLY, Nov. 18, 1805.

As some things I have said respecting your publishing your concise History of New-England may have been misrepresented, I take the liberty to explain to you my sentiments and feelings on the subject.

You are not ignorant of my dependent situation, of the irreparable injury I did my eyes, while writing my Summary History. I early formed the design of abridging it for schools, as you had done your Geography. When therefore, I heard of your publishing your concise History, I was surprised and hurt, and did indeed consider it as interfering with my right; I found also that this was the opinion of many literary Gentlemen, who were fully qualified to form a correct judgment upon the subject. Did you not, Rev. Sir, form a similar judgment in your own case? Did you not express your disapprobation of Dwight's geographical abridgment?*

After you appeared willing that I should go on with my abridgment, your letter, dated Sept. 26, 1804, excited my most painful feelings; and I thought if you had taken the trouble of giving a statement of my situation to Mr. PARISH, his objections might have been prevented. When I saw your concise History, I was exceedingly hurt to find my Summary History represented as too expensive, and disjointed, to be useful to the rising generation; and thought, that whatever your opinion of that work might be, a consideration of my helpless sex, and dependent situation, might have induced you to have treated me with more delicacy in public.

When at length, under every possible disadvantage, I had completed my abridgment, I hoped I should be left quietly to enjoy the little emolument I might derive from the sale of my books; but I found I had new difficulties to encounter. Upon my applying to Mr. Cushing at Salem, to take some of my books for sale, he declined, and gave it for a reason, that he was about to reprint your History. My friend Mr. E. of Beverly informed me that you said the sale of your History would promote the sale of my abridgment. I must be allowed to express my astonishment; that you avow this opinion; though I am ready to admit that a Gentleman, possessed of affluence and independence, cannot form an adequate idea, how greatly I shall be injured, by your publishing a new edition of a work, upon a smaller scale, which is calculated to supersede mine. However, if you are determined to proceed in your design, I am resolved to endeavour

* Not for the same reasons that you object to our History; but solely because he used the facts I had collected, without giving due credit for them. But I never abused him, nor spoke of him, in any way to injure his reputation.

to banish all feelings of resentment, and shall not think myself answerable for the severe remarks which the Public may make upon your conduct. *From your humble Servant,*

H. ADAMS.

MISS A. TO MR. PARISH. [never sent.]

Rev. Sir,

BEVERLY, Nov. 15, 1805.

If the idea I formed of the kindness and benevolence of your character, when you did me the honour of calling on me in August, (it was in Nov. 1804,) were just, you will not be displeased at my addressing you at present. You then, if my memory is correct, candidly allowed, that my publishing the Summary History of New-England, gave me the right of abridging that work for the use of schools, and after being informed of my situation, and views, you were not only willing that I should print my abridgment, but wished me success in the sale of my books, although it might in some measure interfere with the disposal of your concise History. The sentiments you then expressed, were worthy of the Christian, and the minister, and expressive of that disinterested benevolence, "which seeketh not her own." When therefore I heard that Mr. CUSHING, was about to reprint your work upon a smaller scale, I was astonished and distressed. Upon an impartial review of the subject, I hope and trust you will relinquish this design, since it appears calculated to do me a material injury. I need not repeat what I told you of my dependence upon my own exertions for a support, and the weakness of my eyes, which precludes all my literary pursuits. Permit me also to suggest, that whatever motives may induce you to reprint your books, the world will say your conduct is contrary to that disinterested benevolence which you profess. Once more I appeal to your humanity, to your religious principles, and hope and trust I shall not appeal in vain; but that you will permit me the honour of subscribing myself, &c.

H. ADAMS.

The transaction we are now considering makes a prominent article among the charges brought before the Referees.

[The reader is requested to turn to Mr. HIGGINSON's "*general Statement of Miss A's Case*," marked (A) and to read from the words, "Being on a visit to Salem," &c. to the end of that paper. And also to "Mr. HIGGINSON's *Remarks on my letter to Mr. J. SALISBURY*," and read two paragraphs from the words, "*Soon after the fair professions*," &c. to the words, "*a new alarm to Miss A. and her friends*." In the following Remarks, I shall have reference to the foregoing letters, and to the paragraphs above referred to, which give a full view of the charge made out of this transaction.]

In answer to this complex charge, I shall first state certain facts, which it is proper the reader should know, and bear in mind as he proceeds. It is an unpleasant necessity, which leads to this obtrusion of *personal* concerns, on the public attention.

1. In Dec. 1804, four months after its publication, Mess^{rs} CUSHING and APPLETON, booksellers in Salem, agreed to take the residue, then remaining unsold, of our *Compendious History*, published the preceding September. The edition consisted of 3000 copies. Mess^{rs} C. and A. purchased 1400 copies. The rest were previously sold.

2. Arrangements were at this time made with the booksellers above named, for publishing a *new edition* of this work, with *some omissions*, alterations and additions, which had been marked. This new edition was to be published at such time, as would be mutually agreeable to the contracting parties. It was supposed, that had the work continued to sell, as it had done, another edition would be wanted in the following spring. The cry raised against this work, about this time, checked the sale. No special efforts were made to promote it; so that, notwithstanding a part of this 1400 copies was afterward burnt, the sale of the first edition was not completed till *four years* after. More copies were sold the first four *months* after its publication, than in the next *four years*. Mess^{rs} C. and A. relinquished the idea of publishing a *second edition* of the work, finding it less saleable than they had expected; and it was published by Mess^{rs} THOMAS and WHIPPLE of Newburyport, in Nov. 1808.

3. The circumstance of *altering*, in the manner above stated, our *Compendious History*, had not the most distant reference to Miss A's Abridgment. It was not in "fulfillment of Dr. P's threat," as has been so often asserted. In doing it we had no design to interfere with Miss A's plans or interest; nor was it, in my belief, *in fact*, any interference, or injury in any way to Miss A. Our reasons for reducing the work, were the following. 1. A very respectful remonstrance from a respectable body of *Friends*, called *Quakers*, against some historical remarks, which they thought incorrect. We thought it proper to omit these in the second edition. 2. Some parts relating to Synods, &c. were thought by Dr. P. and myself, not so well adapted to schools. The chapter on the Geography of New-England, was also omitted, as better suited to a Geography, than a History. The appendix in the first edition, was also left out in the second. In place of these omissions, about twenty pages of new matter, relating to "Philip's war, &c." were added. Dr. PARISH writes me, (Mar. 24, 1814,) thus on this subject, "I have *no conception* that there was a design, so to alter the work, as to *reduce the price*." The *omissions*, however, were more than the *additions*; the paper of the second edition was inferior to that of the first; the *map* was already engraved. On these accounts, the price was reduced from \$1. 25, to \$1. 12½.

With these facts in view, I take, and the reader will judge whether I do not maintain, the ground, that Miss A. had *no right to complain of this transaction*. For,

1. Dr. P. and myself were only exercising *our own unques-*

tionable rights; we were managing our *own property*, lawfully and honourably acquired, in our own way. It is not now *pretended* even that Miss A. had *any claim* on our *justice*.

2. In proposing to publish a new edition of our History, we violated no *promise*, no *engagement*, no "*professions*," we had made. We had laid ourselves under no kind of obligations whatever, not to publish future editions of our work, when, and in what form and size we pleased. Dr. PARISH, in his letter of the 20th April, 1809, which was laid before the Referees, and will be found in its place, expressly declares, that, at the interview when he is said to have "overpowered Miss A. with his *professions*," he "certainly had no conception, that she wished us to *relinquish* our work;" and therefore expresses his "surprise, that a subsequent edition should wound her feelings." As to myself, I certainly never made any engagement of the sort pretended, neither at the only interview I had with Miss A. on the subject, at the Thursday lecture, nor in my subsequent letter to her of the 26th Sept. nor at any other time, nor in any other manner. The only expression that has any *appearance* of an engagement, is in Miss A.'s statement of the conversation, which passed at the interview above alluded to, and which is this: "*I wish to encourage the undertaking*." I may, or may not, have said this; I don't remember it. Admit it, however. No man of common sense will say, that by the expression of this wish to encourage *her* work, I laid myself under obligations to relinquish *my own*! I surely meant no such thing; nor did Dr. P. in his conversation; nor did Miss A. ask any thing of the kind, of either of us. Her only request was, that she might be permitted to proceed with her abridgment,* which was answered by us both, in a manner agreeable to her wishes. Dr. P. and myself, could do all for Miss A. which we professed a wish to do for her, and yet continue our own work. Whatever others may have thought, or may still think, I, for myself, never for a moment have considered our work as *interfering* with, or as having any tendency to diminish the sale, either of her Summary History, or her Abridgment. My opinion has always been, that all these publications, considering their size and character, might have proceeded prosperously together, without the least injurious collision, had Miss A. spared her complaints and accusations, and her friends the intemperate use they have made of them; and that the profits she would, in this case, have realized, would have been far greater than they have been, with all the unsuccessful efforts which have been made for her at my expense. And what is more, judging from my own views of the subject, she would have enjoyed these gains with greater comfort, and a better conscience, than she must now pos-

* She has since said, that by the question, "are you willing I should proceed with my abridgment?" she did not mean to ask our leave to publish; but to "ascertain whether we at all respected her rights." See Mr. Channing's statement to the Referees.

sess. Probably too with these gains, and those received from her other useful works, she might have supported herself in ease and comfort, without her annuity.

3. Miss A. had no claim on our *liberality* or *charity*. She never, either to Dr. P. or myself, brought forward any such claim. Her claim on us had always been founded on a pretended *infringement of her rights*. This claim was not admitted by the Referees. If she had a claim on our liberality and charity, growing out of "respect and tenderness for her sex, and merits, and indigence, and pre-occupancy of the subject," then it should have been presented in this form, and on these grounds; and not as a demand, and in language *affrontive* and *chilling* to all benevolent and good feelings. And yet, this is the only form in which it was presented. Mr. HIGGINSON shall give his own account of the manner in which he himself made this demand, on our *liberality* and *charity*. It is admitted that she had no claim in justice, nor as we have seen from promise.

"It was at this period," says Mr. H.* *i.e.* after Miss A. had informed him of the proposed Salem edition of our History, "that I had a *warm debate* with Dr. M. on this subject, *claiming*, on behalf of Miss A. that he should *give up to her the MS. then at Salem*, and urged, what appeared to me very powerful arguments in support of the claim. All, however, that I could obtain, was a promise to suspend the intended publication *for the present*. I confess I thanked him for this *miserable* concession, not without feelings of indignation at his meanness." On this passage, the only one addressed by Mr. H. or any other person, in behalf of Miss A. to our liberal and charitable feelings, I will only remark, that its style seems not the most happily suited to effect its object; that it looks too much like asking *charity* of a man, by *demanding his purse*; that it is rather unusual to *insult* a person, from whom you wish a *favour*.

4. We omitted for about *three years*, to do that of which she complained, though she yet had no right to complain. Of course, this article of charge, which makes a prominent and glaring figure before the Referees, proves to be without foundation, other than that Dr. P. and myself ventured to *talk* about a new edition of our work. Mr. HIGGINSON here takes to himself the credit of having *frightened* us out of our plan of publishing. We should have executed it, he says, had we not been "*deterred by the influence of Miss A's friends*;"* meaning by his own influence, for no one else attempted to deter us. Be sure, the "*influence*," of Mr. H. exhibited at his interview with me, according to his own account of it, was better adapted to *frighten*, than to *convince*. It however, did neither the one, nor the other. Other causes induced Dr. P. and myself to postpone a new edition of our history, till the close of the year 1808.

* See his Remarks on my letter to Mr. Salisbury.

Thus stand the complaints, and charge, respecting the projected Salem edition of our History.

And we here again see, that "*much ado was made about nothing.*"

From the close of the year 1805, to about the close of the year 1808, no occurrence took place worthy of notice, other than that the MS. story was all the while in active, but smothered circulation, and the letter to Mr. SHAW, as I understand, during this time, was shown to sundry persons, to induce them to subscribe to an annuity, for the support of Miss A. The extent of the circulation of this letter, and its precise effects on my reputation, any further than I have already stated, are unknown to me. The letter was trusted to Mr. SHAW, and all due credit will be given to his own account of the use he made of it. At the period last mentioned, Nov. 1808, was published

The Newburyport Edition of the Compendious History.

I take occasion here to remark, that this is the *second* and *last* edition of our history. The first, in 1804, consisted of 3000 copies; the last of 4000, *i.e.* 7000 in *ten* years. A part of the first edition was burnt, if I mistake not, in the year 1806, with other property of Mess^{rs} CUSHING and APPLETON. A part of the last edition, I know not how many, is still on hand, the property of Mess^{rs} THOMAS and WHIPPLE.* The net profits received from these two editions, it is impossible for me to estimate with any degree of exactness. I can only say, negatively, that by the portion which I have received, after compensating me, at the *lowest wages*, for the labour, and time, which I have been *compelled*, in self defence, to employ in this frivolous controversy, I shall not have been enriched. In contemplating the conduct of Miss A. and her advisers, in the management of her histories of New-England, I have often been reminded of the story in DILWORTH, which I read when a boy, of "*The dog in the manger.*" The course she has pursued will be very likely to put both her histories, and ours out of circulation. The memory of them may perhaps live a few years in the history of this controversy. A contrary effect, however, is among possible events.

But to return from this digression. The publication of the Newburyport edition of our History, revived Miss A's complaints, and Mr. HIGGINSON now openly espoused her cause. In a letter to me of Dec. 6, 1808, he says:

"In the case of Miss Adams I once made a fruitless appeal to your *generosity*, [mark this word, and compare it with his own account of this "*fruitless appeal*," p. 62.] *to obtain something for this lady, who was destitute.* The utmost I could gain was a promise to withhold *for the present*, your edition which had been prepared at Salem for publication; the publication of which, it

* Mr. Thomas informs me, that 2000 copies of the 4000, of this edition, constituted a part of their loss by the great fire at Newburyport.

was believed by Miss A. and her friends, would impede the sale of her little work, on the slender proceeds of which she relied for her support. This edition I now find is printed at Newburyport, to the number of 4000 copies. As to the interest Dr. P. had in the edition, I should probably have had no difficulty, if you had relinquished yours.*

Again in the same letter—"On the subject of Miss ADAMS, I may add, that I am determined with all my powers to defend the *rights* and interest of an helpless woman, against what I have uniformly considered, *UNFEELING OPPRESSION*."

It is in point in this place to remark, 1. That we have now before us the feelings and determination, with which Mr. HIGGINSON espoused the cause of Miss ADAMS. It is but candid here to state, that Mr. H. was at this time engaged with me in another very foolish controversy, which he indiscreetly originated and very obstinately pursued, and which has issued in a manner not very creditable to his character. His temper, naturally sanguine, was now wrought up to a high pitch of irritation. It was in this state of mind that he espoused Miss A's cause; and it was with such feelings, that he managed it. I can easily suppose that he believed he was engaged in a righteous cause, and that he verily thought that by thus persecuting me, and by his *avowed* efforts to alienate my friends and destroy my influence, he "did God service." But it is now evident that "his zeal was without knowledge," that his *sympathy* was without a cause; and that he "knew not what manner of spirit he was of." It was doubtless from a similar view of Mr. H's conduct in this business, that the Referees penned the last clause in their award. "We can perceive" say they, "and duly estimate the generous sympathy, which might have prompted to harsh expressions; but their *irritating tendency* must be admitted; and they may have impeded a friendly and satisfactory accommodation between the parties." This I consider as a correct, and the precise view of this controversy, so far as Mr. HIGGINSON is concerned in it. Of the spirit and views of those who urged him on, and supported him in his violent attacks upon my character, I can not speak in terms of apology. It is enough to say, that the *weight* of his sins must probably be laid to their charge.

2. Mr. HIGGINSON, when relating what passed at the interview, when he "made his appeal, to my *generosity*," forgot to mention my reply, which was repeated to Mrs. MORSE, immediately after it was made, and is therefore *correctly* recollected, and which was to this effect—"Mr. H. I have done Miss A. no wrong; I have infringed none of her rights; I have injured none of her interests: she has no claims on my *justice*. On *this ground*,

* Mark here again, the disposition to exculpate Dr. P. and to fasten all the pretended *selfishness* and *meanness*, of this transaction on me; and this without a shadow of reason. I presume Dr. P. is ready to take his full share with me, in all the odium that attaches to this business: for he believes with me, that no odium can *justly* be attached to either of us.

therefore, I can do nothing. But if you appeal to my *generosity*; if you ask *charity* for Miss A. as an indigent and deserving woman; put down your name, Mr. HIGGINSON, for any sum you please, or get any of your wealthy friends to put down any sum they please; and I pledge myself, sir, to *double* it." This challenge was not accepted—and yet Mr. H. has "uniformly considered me as an *unfeeling oppressor*."

Why did not Mr. H. accept this challenge, when by doing it he might have effectually relieved the wants of this "*destitute lady*," for whose situation he felt so strongly? Was it because he was less *solicitous* to *help* this lady, than to implicate me as her "*unfeeling oppressor*," by endeavouring to compel me to do, as an act of *justice*, what he, or rather *those behind the curtain*, would have construed into a *confession* of guilt? This same artifice, it will be found, was attempted to be practised upon me, in a recent negotiation with Mr. SAVAGE.

3. In regard to this Newburyport edition, I take the same ground of vindication as in the case of the *proposed* Salem edition; for the same reasons which have been already stated. We only did what, in our apprehension, we had a *complete right* to do, with our own property; we gave no just cause for any one to complain.

At this time the MS. story was revived in all its vigour, and this region was filled with the complaints of Miss A. of the injuries she had sustained, and should sustain, from our publication. It was in this state of things, and in the midst of a warm controversy with Mr. H. on another subject, that I wrote him the following letter.

Dec. 7, 1806.

Sir,

I was yesterday informed that you are reviving and circulating, to the injury of my reputation, the affair of Miss H. ADAMS, and the History of New-England. I once, some years since, as you must recollect, explained this transaction to you and Mr. Tyng, I had supposed to the satisfaction of you both.*

*One remark which I made during the conversation here alluded to, I perfectly recollect, as also the reply of Mr. Higginson, and which it is pertinent here to state. I expressed my desire to patronize Miss A.'s abridged history, and my wish to review it for this purpose in the Panoplist; but, said I, "I can't do it." "Why not," said Mr. H. "Because," said I, "I am placed on such ground by the unfounded reports which have been circulated, that I have *injured* Miss A. &c. that should I do any thing, in such a state of things, to favour her interest, it would be construed to my disadvantage; it would be said, I was covering my injuries of her, with my flatteries. I can do nothing therefore to help Miss A. in this way; my hands are tied." "No more you can't," replied Mr. H. "I see you can't, and I am sorry for it." This conversation passed between us shortly, within a week or two, after the 18th of December, 1805, at Mr. Tyng's office in Congress street, before any open breach had taken place between Mr. H. and myself. Hence I supposed that he was "*satisfied*" with the explanation I then gave him of this transaction. It is now my full belief, that he was then satisfied, because his mind was then in a state to receive and embrace the truth from me. But it did not long after this interview remain in this state. To answer certain purposes, not very honourable to their projectors, prejudices were

At least I had no intimation from either of you at the time, to the contrary. Why it should be revived again at this late period, and contrary to the wishes of Miss ADAMS, (if I am correctly informed) you can best tell. As you seem to have volunteered your services, as my *public accuser*, without the consent, and contrary to the feelings of those whose supposed wrongs you wish to avenge, I think, if you mean to maintain any pretensions to justice or propriety of conduct, you ought to state to me your specific charges, for I do not learn that *they* have any to bring forward against me; you would not, I presume, wish to sustain the character of the man who delights to throw his arrows and inflict his wounds in *the dark*.

This sort of dark and indefinite attack on my character, so pertinaciously and industriously persisted in, after every honourable and Christian mode of preventing it, proffered on my part, is altogether insufferable, and I must have assurances from you, that it shall be immediately discontinued, and Christian reparation made for past injuries, or I shall expose your conduct to the public. Yours, &c.

J. MORSE.

P.S. I am not conscious of having intentionally done any thing in reference to Miss H. A. incompatible with the strictest honour, justice or friendship; any thing that has impaired, or will impair her worldly interest. If she thinks otherwise, let her state her wrongs; or if she does not sufficiently feel them, do you, sir, state them for her in writing, and I pledge myself to redress them to the satisfaction of Judge DAVIS, Rev. Mr. CHANNING, and Mr. JOSIAH SALISBURY.

On the 19th of Dec. Mr. H. replied to the above, as follows.

MR. HIGGINSON TO DR. MORSE.

DEC. 19, 1808.

"As to my interest in Miss ADAMS's affairs, I can never be ashamed of your charge, that it has been voluntary; but if I have espoused her cause *unasked*, I have not done it "without her consent," as you have been informed. On the contrary, her approbation has been expressed in terms far exceeding the merit of the service.

This subject is again brought up by your own conduct in publishing a new edition of a work, which necessarily interferes with hers.

artfully insinuated into his too pliant mind, and thus the man who had, till this period, ranked among my warmest friends, was converted into an open, violent and implacable enemy. I lament it for his sake, as well as my own. He must by this time be convinced, that by his conduct he has not only inflicted wounds on my reputation, but also severer and more lasting ones on his own. I feel no disposition to retaliate or to resent these injuries. It gives me no pleasure to expose them.

But as you offer to leave this subject to men, who are good judges, I agree to the proposition, in her behalf, with thanks; excepting from the commission however my worthy brother, whose situation is too delicate, to permit him to act.

I shall present to Judge DAVIS, and the Rev. Mr. CHANNING, a statement in writing, and hand you a copy. I am, &c.

S. HIGGINSON, JUN.

Such was the origin of the *Reference*, which took place April 24, 1809, of which a more particular account is given hereafter.

On the 7th of December, 1808, I wrote my friend Mr. JOSIAH SALISBURY, brother-in-law to Mr. HIGGINSON, who, from motives which ought to actuate every Christian, was desirous to have these differences amicably adjusted, the following summary *statement* of the facts which constituted, according to his representation of them, the *grounds* of Mr. H's charges. Some things in this statement irrelevant, and for other substantial reasons, are omitted.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. MORSE'S LETTER TO MR. JOSIAH SALISBURY.

Dear Sir,

CHARLESTOWN, DEC. 7, 1808.

Agreeably to my promise I now put on paper some facts, that will enable you to form a correct judgment on the several charges, which Mr. S. H. has thought proper assiduously to circulate to my disadvantage. I should have preferred giving this statement verbally, in a conference, as I proposed to Mr. H. which would have given me an opportunity for enlargement and explanation; but as he refuses this fair mode of settling our differences, I submit to the one now adopted.

* * * * *

Charge respecting interference with Miss H. Adams in her Histories of New-England.

1st Fact. My History of New-England was first published, the principal part of it, in Dobson's Edition of Encyclopedia, without the most distant intention of publishing it in any other form.

2d Fact. Judge DAVIS, as he will recollect, gave me the first hint of publishing it in another form.

3d Fact. The proposal of making it a school book, to aid the design of the *feast of shells*, was by me mentioned to a number of the principal promoters of that festival, among others to Mr. S. H. Jun. and was by them approved. Mr. HIGGINSON, as Mrs. MORSE perfectly recollects, having said in my house, after its publication, that it was a book which ought to be in every "family of the sons of the pilgrims." No intimation of interference with Miss ADAMS was suggested by any of the gentlemen; nor was it once thought of by me.

4th Fact. The work was published in the fall of 1804, with honourable views of promoting the public good, and without the most distant thought of interfering with the rights or interest, or wounding the feelings of Miss A. or any one else.

5th Fact. After the work was published, Miss Adams gave me the *first intimation* I had ever received, that she had contemplated, and had partly prepared, an abridgment of her 8vo. History of New-England for the use of schools. It is certain, therefore, I could have had no *design* to interfere with Miss A. in her intended work.

My letter to Miss A. written shortly after the conversation which passed between us, containing an extract of Dr. P's letter to me; Miss A's letter to Dr. P. and his answer, copies of which you probably have; also the Anthology for the year 1805, will inform you of all that took place relative to this business, which Dr. P. and myself had supposed was satisfactorily explained and settled, till my opposition to the election of Professor WARE, rendered it necessary, in the opinion of certain gentlemen, to lessen my influence; or, to use their own words, "to put me down." Then it was found convenient to work up this simple tale into a serious charge against me of "selfishness" and "oppression." To this opposition in the affair of the Professor, may be easily traced all the *persecution*, for so I shall ever consider it, and so it is considered by others, my most respectable and judicious friends, which I have since suffered, and in which Mr. S. H. jun. has been made so active and conspicuous an agent. In this business, not indeed very honourable or consistent in men, who talk so loudly against the spirit of persecution, and in favour of liberal sentiments, Mr. H. in my opinion, is much less blameable, than those, who, availing themselves of the benevolence and candour of his disposition, have, from behind the curtain, urged him on to do what they themselves did not choose to do openly.

6th Fact. My work *has not* interfered, and, in my full belief *will not* interfere with the sale of Miss A's work. But from the different sizes of the works, and for other reasons well understood by booksellers, has had, and probably will continue to have, a quite different effect. I rest the fact on the abstract principles of calculation, as respects this particular case. For example, the introduction of the study of Geography into our schools, which was done by the publication of my Geography abridged, has created a demand for many thousands of copies of other smaller abridgments than mine, and which probably would never have been made, had not the habit of making the study of Geography a branch of school education been previously formed, in the manner I have mentioned.

These facts and observations, I submit to you, my dear sir, to be used at your discretion. Assailed, as I am, with so bitter, so active, and determined a spirit of hostility, a hostility obvi-

ously provoked, on my part, by a conscientious act of duty, a hostility conducted by men, who hold a respectable standing in society, and who deservedly, on topics in which their pride of opinion, and their passions, are not enlisted, have great influence on public opinion; I owe it to my friends, to exhibit to them the truth, in respect to the charges brought against me. You will easily perceive, when you consider the sort of charges brought up, such as are mostly of a private family nature, which do not in the least degree concern the public; such as have long since been settled and done with by the parties concerned, and the revival of which can only wound feelings, create animosities, and do no possible good; when you consider also the indefinite nature of these charges, and the distance of time in which the events happened, on which they are grounded; when these things are considered, you will readily perceive, that explicit and legal evidence of my innocence is not without great labour and difficulty obtained; and the nature of some of the charges will not admit of such evidence. Indeed, sir, I feel mortified that men of respectable character, and professing themselves *Christians*, should be capable of propagating such charges against a minister of the Gospel, with a view to his injury; and I feel truly humbled in making a serious reply to them. Such charges would merit nothing but silent contempt, were they not propagated by men, whose standing in life give them importance. If characters are to be tested by their ability to refute all such sort of charges, which any individual may think proper, in order to gratify his resentful feelings, to bring against them; I venture to say there is no one, not even the most virtuous that can be named, could stand the trial. And if such charges were to become general, no man's character would be safe, and civil society could not exist. I am, dear sir, your friend,

J. MORSE.

P.S. You have my leave to exhibit the foregoing to Mr. S. H. jun. on these express conditions, and on these only, viz. that he will, previously to your communicating to him the above, pledge himself to give you in *writing* his objections to any part of my statement, with the reasons on which he founds them; and if he shall dispute the correctness of any fact, which I have stated, that he exhibit also in writing his proofs of such incorrectness; and that when this is done, he shall submit his objections and proofs to me, for reply. Then these papers shall be submitted to you, and two other gentlemen, one to be named by him, the other by me, who shall ultimately decide the controversy between us. The Referees shall have liberty to call on either of us for explanations, and information which they may require.

Mr. Higginson's remarks on the preceding letter. Dec. 17, 1808.

That letter related to my opinion of the Rev. Dr. M. and some parts of his conduct, on which this opinion has been found-

ed,* which I have expressed, or, as he says, "assiduously circulated" in a family I am nearly allied to, *with a view, [mark this,] to remove from them, what I considered as a dangerous acquaintance.*

Having good reasons, for objecting to an interview, when I first declined it, I have now added to them the advantage of having on record what Dr. MORSE has been pleased to offer as his defence.

* * * * *

Thirdly. As respects Miss Adams's Case.

In answer to the *five* first facts stated by Dr. M. I have no objection to make; nor do I conceive that they are of any importance;† however Miss A. might have felt alarmed at Dr. M's publication, on account of the situation of her Summary History, then still on hand, and also in the belief that it would prevent the sale of her intended abridgment: Yet no one, that I have heard, doubted the right of Dr. M. to publish that work; and for myself, I acknowledge, that I had not before known Miss. A's Summary was in existence. Having never been personally acquainted with Miss A. I had taken no particular interest in her works.

As to Dr. M's "*design* to interfere" with Miss A. in any work, I have never alleged that he had such a "*design*." My first charge was, that he did interfere with her rights, by a cruel and unmanly threat to publish an abridgment to meet hers, which threat (contrary to his apparent intentions) he did actually prepare to execute, and was deterred only by the influence of Miss A's friends.‡

REMARKS.

* The "parts of my conduct" here alluded to (all that had any semblance of truth) as the grounds of the opinion he expressed, with a view to alienate my friends, have since been examined by impartial and competent judges, who, under their own hands, have given a *complete* and *full* exoneration of my character from the false charges of Mr. H.

† The reader is requested to turn to, and read the 24th page in this pamphlet; and also to p. 67, 68. and to read the "*five first facts*," here alluded to, and to which "no objection" is made, and I think he will be convinced, that *every ground* of complaint against Dr. P. and myself, for publishing our Compendious History is here *formally* and *explicitly* relinquished. For if it be admitted, as is here done, that Dr. P. and myself had "*an undoubted right* to publish our work," that we "*published it with upright and honourable views of promoting the public good, and without the most distant thought of interfering with the rights or interests, or wounding the feelings of Miss A. or any one else*," it is hard to conceive, what ground of complaint, in regard to this transaction, is left to Miss A. or her friends.

‡ After this paragraph, the reader is requested to turn to p. 25 of this pamphlet, and read art. 6th of my remarks. See also p. 60, &c.

In addition to this, I ought to observe, that Miss A. has always felt herself slighted and injured in her reputation, as a writer, by the manner in which Dr. MORSE treats her Summary History, which had then been published only a short time, and which, in his preface to his Concise [Compendious] History, is classed among those "disjointed" volumes, which were described as too "*expensive* to be rendered useful to the rising generation."*

6th Fact. In answer to this part of Dr. MORSE's defence, that his work "has not" and "will not interfere" with Miss A's; I will show from his own letter of the 26th Sept. 1804, that *he had then* a very different opinion.† He there appears to adopt Mr. PARISH's objections, that the "Public would say either one or the other was unnecessary;" here he evidently supposes that an edition of Miss A's work for the use of schools, would have interfered with his History. He considers it of the same kind, at a less price; and yet he could not see that *his* work was of the same kind with her "*great* work," and "at a less price." When it is convenient for *him* to publish, the works are very *different*, and his will rather *aid* the sale of *hers*; but when she, poor woman, is to earn a pittance by reducing her own work for the use of

REMARKS.

* This *complaint*, which was not hinted at by Miss A. either in the interview she had with me, nor in the more particular one she had afterward with Dr. P. nor yet in her letter to him of Oct. 1804, in which, had it been of a *serious* nature, she ought to have mentioned it, but which was afterward got up, and magnified, and brought before the Referees, and is introduced even into her public Reply to my Appeal,—this complaint has all its foundation in the following clause in the Preface to our Compendious History.

"The materials for the history of this favoured portion of the world, though abundant, have hitherto been scattered in many volumes, too expensive and too disjointed, to be rendered useful to the rising generation. To reduce them to a form, order, and size adapted to the use of the higher classes in schools, and to families, has been our aim in compiling this *small* work." We expected it would be a 12mo vol. of about 300 pages.

It seems almost too much, to be obliged to notice such a complaint as this. But as it has been *seriously* made, and is still *persisted* in, I will only say, 1. That the old adage seems here to be verified—that "where *great* troubles," or *causes* of complaint, "are wanting, *little* ones are made to answer the purpose." 2. Miss A. admits, that we had no *design* to wound her feelings. We have done every thing we could do since we knew of her complaint, to heal a wound *undesignedly* made. 3. We honoured her by putting her name among our *authorities*. 4. The undesigned omission here to give Miss A. the *praise*, which she seems to *claim*, cannot fairly be construed into any *blameable slight* or *neglect*. It is certain, we intended no such thing. The public, I think, will ask no more, on this frivolous topic. If so, more will be found in my general Statement, exhibited to the Referees.

† This is not correct. The opinion here referred to was Dr. Parish's, not *mine*. I have always maintained a *contrary* opinion. See my letter to Mr. Salisbury; also my Argument before the Referees.

schools, he imagines at once an "interference." I know he will say this was Mr. PARISH's objection; then Mr. P. could have made it for himself, and Dr. M. need not have lent his aid and influence to the unworthy purpose of threatening resentment to a woman, for the use of her own proper right.

Dr. MORSE may reason on this subject as he pleases. He knows full well that two Histories of New-England will not be used in schools; but where his is used, (and he takes no small pains to improve his extensive influence for his own purposes) Miss A's will not be wanted.*

It is very convenient for a man, who is embarrassed by a charge of misconduct, to attribute such charge to party motives, and in this way to guard those attached to his party against listening to the accusation. It is a misfortune, that such improper means of defence, have been but too often resorted to with success. Dr. M. seems quite disposed to avail himself of them.

If he believes the suggestion he makes to this effect, he has my pity. But if he knows better things, if he artfully conjures up the idea to excite sentiments in his favour, which he has no right to excite, I may be permitted to indulge the sentiment toward him which such conduct merits.†

REMARKS.

* We have already seen, that the complaints here enumerated, are either groundless, or were removed at the time they originated. Whether our work did *in fact* interfere with either of hers; whether in consequence of our publication, she has sold *one less* of either of hers? are questions undecided; and which obviously cannot, from their nature, be decided. I take the ground, and have assigned my reasons for it, [p. 68.] that our publication has subjected her to *no loss*, to no diminution of her profits, *in fact*; but, if it had diminished her gains, she would have had no right to complain, because this diminution would have been occasioned by the fair and honourable exercise of our unquestionable rights.

If, in the case supposed, Miss A. had a right to complain of *us*, and to claim *damages* for our interference, then, B. a merchant, might, for the same reasons, claim damages from C. another merchant, because C. in the correct exercise of his own rights, in his professional employments, had, in B's opinion, diminished his gains. The cases are parallel; except, that in that of Miss A. it is not admitted, but denied, that she has, in truth, suffered any diminution in her gains. If so, then this controversy has never had any substantial foundation. Nothing has been done on my part to justify or provoke the malignant and obstinate attacks, which have been made on my character by Mr. HIGGINSON, in which he has been countenanced and backed by Miss ADAMS. The claims on my *generosity*, &c. have been examined, and, as I apprehend, proved to be without foundation.

† With the facts and evidence, which are now before the reader, he will be able to judge, whether or not I have been correct in "charging to party motives," the attacks of Mr. H. on my reputation. If, in this charge, I have been correct, then who is the "artful conjurer?" Who, the object of "*pity*?" What "sentiment toward *him*," does he think "such conduct as his merits?"

Dr. M. affects to have thought this affair satisfactorily explained; yet he well knows, that his conduct was thought very improper by gentlemen who *could not* be influenced in the case by party feelings.* How indeed, could he suppose that his unmanly threat would be forgotten, so long as female weakness had a claim to compassion and support? That his conduct has made an impression on Miss A's mind, not yet obliterated, will appear from her letters; and although Dr. M. may have supposed his specious manners had blinded her, she still sees him ready to treat her literary reputation with contempt, and pay little regard to her pecuniary interests, when he imagines them to interfere with his own!!†

Soon after [a year after] the fair professions of Dr. M. and his partner, Miss A. found they were in fact, proceeding to execute their threat. They were "provoked" by her abridgment to publish also a cheaper work, which would interfere with the use of hers. The copy was with the printer at Salem, and artfully proposed to be published under the name of a new and cheaper edition of their former work; although *very few* of the former edition had yet been sold.‡ It was a knowledge of this fact, communicated to me through some friends of Miss A. which first excited my attention to this concern. I learned at the same time, that Miss A. made great complaints of what she thought *insincerity* in those gentlemen;|| and I trust I have not lived to this time of life, with so little character, as that I cannot interest myself in the aid and defence of suffering female merit, without having such interest imputed to base and unworthy motives.§

It was at this period, that I had a *warm debate* with Dr. M. on this subject, *claiming* on behalf of Miss A. that he should *give up to her the manuscript then at Salem*; and I urged, what then appeared to me, very powerful arguments, in support of the *claim*; all however that I could obtain, was a promise to suspend the intended publication *for the present*. I confess, I thanked him for this miserable concession, not without feelings of indignation at his meanness.¶ These feelings, however, I never ex-

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* I know no such thing; nor have I ever known or believed it.

† Mere rant and rhapsody.

‡ Not true. See p. 60. The complaint here referred to has been explained.

|| This is a heavy charge; but the reader will have already seen, that it has no foundation.

§ Of Mr. H's motives, in engaging with such zeal and bitterness in this controversy, the reader, from the Documents before him, will be left to form his own judgment.

¶ See p. 64. where an important *part* of the conversation, to which Mr. H. here alludes, and which he has thought fit to omit, will be found; with remarks on this paragraph.

pressed, until I heard of the new edition being in the press, at Newburyport, which, as far as its sale extends, *will effectually prevent the sale of Miss A's Abridgment*,* of which a new edition has been published, and is yet principally on hand. Four thousand copies of this new work, supported by the popularity of Dr. M. as to works of this kind, and by the superior means, his long acquaintance with the selling of books, must give him in the sale of this work, was sufficient to occasion a new alarm to Miss A. and her friends.†

If the impressions on my mind respecting the conduct, and character of this gentleman, which I have pretty *candidly* exposed,‡ are well founded, it will be a thing exceedingly to be lamented, that he should be able to prevent, or stifle similar impressions on other minds, from causes foreign to the subject.||

That such impressions have a *natural tendency to reduce his influence, is not denied?* But ought not that influence to be reduced? What sect, or party can wish the aid of a man, whose character they cannot respect? What upright, and honest man, will hold up the shield of party, to conceal selfish views? Any party, is in fact, disgraced by the misconduct of its leaders, if, through "pride of opinion," or any other cause, the guilty is thus screened from censure.§

As to this gentleman's intimation, that I am influenced by others, whom he would have to be esteemed his enemies; there may be policy in the objection, but that gentleman *knows* the insinuation to be as unfounded, as it is insidious.¶ He knows that it is among my most prominent failings to pay too little deference

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* An assertion without proof, and which is denied.

† It is easy to ascribe "popularity and influence" to a man, who "must be put down," when they can be turned to account, in effecting that object. But in order to this, his *popularity* and *influence*, must be the traits of his "*Arts*," not of any good deeds. This is "*modern liberality*."

‡ "Pretty *candidly*" indeed. The reader, I apprehend, will think that this word, as here used, will require a *new definition*."

|| "If the *impressions* on Mr. H's mind, are not "well founded," what then is "to be lamented?"

§ I have said, that after the publication of "*The True Reasons*," the word given out, concerning me, from high authority, was, "*he must be put down*," and that the *instruments* to effect this object, of which Mr. H. consented to be chief, and leader, were of course put in requisition. Here we have Mr. H's own evidence to establish the fact. In this view, the reader will please to note, and remember the sentences which I have marked in *italic*.

¶ What I have written, I have written.

to the opinion of others.* I have acted from a sense of duty to "disabuse" the friends I highly value, of their attachment to a man, who had for some time appeared to me, too artful and selfish.†

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* This I do know. But such sort of "failings" do not disqualify a man to act the part which was assigned to Mr. H. in the good work of destroying my reputation and influence.

† A fine compliment to the *discernment* of his friends. It was *kind* in him to volunteer his services in this *benevolent* work. But can he remember without remorse, and blushing, what sort of facts he once offered to a circle of his friends, to "disabuse them of their attachment to me," on the ground, that I was an "artful and selfish man," and actuated by "base motives?" If he can, he is truly to be pitied.

"Who had for *some time* appeared to me, &c." i.e. from Dec. 22, 1804. Till this time Mr. H. and myself, had been intimate acquaintances. I have reason to suppose, he had entertained a good opinion of me. I know of no act, or conduct of mine, which *at this time*, particularly, should have *all at once*, developed such new and opposite traits in my character. The *supposed* facts, which he seized to justify this change of opinion, unfortunately have proved to be shadows, *mere shadows*; nor had he any proofs of them at the time. The conversation which passed between Mr. H. and myself, at the "*Feast of Shells*," on the day above mentioned, and which I am assisted correctly to recollect by Mrs. M. to whom I mentioned it at the time, may bring to view, the *real cause* of this change of opinion in Mr. H.

The topic of this conversation was, the election of a Professor of Divinity to the then vacant chair in Harvard College, which took place the 14th of Feb. following. The two rival candidates were Rev. Messrs Ware and Appleton, now Dr. Appleton, President of Bowdoin College. Mr. H. was the warm advocate for the former; the latter was the candidate of my choice. Mr. H. spoke much in commendation of the amiableness, and worth of Dr. Ware, to which I assented; but added, that his *religious opinions*, in my belief, were not such, as were required by Mr. Hollis's Statutes; that these statutes must be our guide, in filling the vacancy, and that in the office I held as an Overseer of the College, I could not, *conscientiously*, vote for Dr. Ware, for Professor; though I respected him as a man, and as a minister; and added, that I feared, if his election should be pushed, and carried, it would occasion a *religious controversy* in the Commonwealth, an event to be deprecated in the existing state of political dissensions. Mr. H. *replied*, that if such a *controversy*, as I represented, should take place, the party who advocated the election of Dr. W. had nothing to apprehend; for that they had on their side, all the talents, learning, wealth and influence, or expressions to this amount. I replied, Then, sir, if it be so, you have nothing to fear; you must do as you please. From this time the intimacy between Mr. H. and myself gradually ceased; till, about a year after, for causes developed in the preceding pages, he came out openly, as the champion of the opposition against me.

His conduct toward me ever since, has been that of a man actuated by the most unreasonable prejudices, and violent, and ungoverned passions; and the circumstance, that he has been *supported* in this course of con-

I never consulted any one, until I had committed myself, and was compelled to proceed, or yield my own character ;* the assistance of a friend, has since been confined to repressing my warmth of temper, and softening the language of my communications.†

Dr. M. speaks often of proofs, which he claims from me. I answer him, that my assertions have not heretofore needed support ; and I fear not their being denied in this instance.‡ I have, with some trouble, traced the steps of this gentleman, further than I expected to be able to do.||

But at the same time, it may be observed, that we may entertain opinions of a person, very unfavourable, and on evidence so perfectly satisfactory to our own minds, as to make it our duty to caution our friends, still without being able to produce legal proofs. Opinions may also be founded on many facts too unimportant singly to be worth proving, and yet sufficient, when taken together, to enforce conviction.§

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duct, by men of influence in society, has led on, from step to step, till this public controversy has become indispensable.

One instance of his treatment, I will mention. A lady, a friend of mine, to whom I related a conversation, I had with Mr. H. (Sept. 1808.) and his insolent reply to me ; when, on the score of our former acquaintance, I attempted to explain to him certain transactions, of which he had conceived very incorrect ideas, this lady asked me, with strong emotions, " Pray, had you your cane in your hand, when he thus insulted you ? " My reply was, " A bishop should be no striker." She added, " True ; but that man must be an arrant coward, who would thus insult a minister of the Gospel."

* A sad dilemma.

† It is a pity his efforts were so unsuccessful. If the specimens we have before us are Mr. H's. "*repressed warmth*," and "*softened language*," what must have been the degree of his *original heat* ; of what soft his *original language* ?

‡ Whatever may have been the case "*heretofore*," in regard to Mr. H's "*assertions*," they now, and must hereafter, require some *evidence* to support them ; for in the very instances, to which he here refers, in which I "*claimed proofs*," of his assertions, they have been *proved* to be false.

|| To do what he *actually did*, in this *honourable* employment of search] ing into my *private* concerns, must have cost Mr. H. *much trouble*.

§ In the above paragraph, we have an ingenious device to escape from a dilemma. Mr. H. confesses that he had "*committed himself*," i.e. he had asserted things with a view to alienate my friends, which he could not prove. He is "*compelled*," he says, "*to proceed, or yield his own character*." There is one alternative, which, (I am sorry to say it,) though a professing Christian, he chose to forget ; and that was, to have *confessed his fault*, and retraced his steps, as became a good man. This would early have extricated him from his dilemma, and happily have terminated our controversy. Unfortunately for himself, as well as for others, he determined to "*proceed*," in traducing my character, and

That Dr. M. is a man whose sense of character has induced a good degree of caution in his general conduct, will be readily granted; and to have been able to state so much of his unworthy conduct, must be considered as more than was fairly to be expected. Where I have been able to discover evidence of improper motives in one instance, I have a right to presume it in others on more slight grounds, than in the case of a character exposed to no previous suspicion. In the case now before me, I have much confidence, that my opinions and conduct will meet the approbation of every impartial mind.*

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alienating my friends; and failing in *facts* to support him in this course, he substituted in their place, with considerable ingenuity, it is confessed, the *general observations* in the paragraph on which I am commenting, which may be applied to *any person* whom they may happen to suit.

* "Dr. M's sense of character has induced a good degree of caution in his general conduct," &c. This, it will be perceived, after reading what goes before, is a great deal for Mr. H. to grant. I would return the compliment with all my heart, if I could do it with truth. I wish I may be enabled to continue "this degree of caution," and even to increase it. In this case, should this gentleman think it his duty, from *pure benevolence*, to continue his "*trouble in tracing my steps*," and examining into my *private transactions*, for the *charitable* purpose of discovering in me such "*unworthy conduct*" as might enable him, in the use of it, to "disabuse his friends of their attachment to me," he might acquire still more *credit* to himself from this *honourable* employment. For, it seems, the more caution I shall use, and the less I may have of "*unworthy conduct*," for him to discover, the more *credit* will he claim to himself, for finding out, and displaying before his friends, what may exist. And the less he shall find, the more he will felicitate himself, that he "has been able to state *so much*," because this "*so much*" must be "considered as more than was fairly to be expected!!!"

In reading the passage on which we have been remarking, I could not help wondering, whether Mr. H. had ever read the following description of a virtue, which he professes to admire. "*Charity is kind; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.*" So it reads in my Bible. But Mr. H. I understand, has an "*Improved Version of the New Testament*," of which he is such an admirer, as that it has been *boastingly* said he once imported a *hundred* copies of it for *charitable* distribution. How the passage, I have just quoted, reads in this "*Improved Version*," I have not examined. Should it so read as to justify Mr. H. in his conduct, in the case before us, it would not be the only instance in which this Version countenances very dangerous and pernicious error, both in *principle* and *conduct*. This "*Improved Version*," was confessedly "*the Bible*" of another of my most violent accusers in this affair of Miss A. And it may in truth be added, that among the party in the opposition in this controversy, are to be found all the friends and patrons of this Version.

THE REFERENCE.

The origin of this Reference has been already stated. It became a much more *formal* business than was at first intended. My meaning in making the proposition I did to Mr. H. in the postscript of my letter to him of the 8th Dec. 1808, as will be perceived by recurring to that document, was to have together the gentleman there named, for half an hour, as so many friends to both parties; in which time, I presumed, they could hear all that was necessary to enable them to settle a *frivolous* dispute. I had no particular solicitude, who should judge in the case, and named the gentlemen I did name, because I knew Mr. H. had confidence in them; and some of them, I knew had been made particularly acquainted, by Miss A. herself, with her complaints. The subject of the Reference, indeed, magnified as we advanced. Other subjects were associated with it, which were, however, separated in the hearing. It is needless to trouble the reader with a detail of a *four months'* negotiation and correspondence on the subject. It is sufficient to say, that, after various propositions and changes in regard to the Referees, and the points in controversy to be referred, it was mutually agreed, finally, that the Hon. THOMAS DAWES, Hon. JOHN DAVIS, and Hon. SAMUEL DEXTER, Esquires, should be the men, and that the affair of Miss A. alone, should be submitted to their decision at this time. The names of these gentlemen were on a list of eight,* sent by me to Mr. H. out of which he was left to choose. They were *nominated* by me, but *chosen* by him. He was not limited by me, to my list. I am thus particular, because it has been so often said, in a way not in any view very fair or correct, that "the Referees were *all* of my own choice." So they were all of Mr. H's and Miss A's choice. It will be proper, and, after the use that has been made of the circumstance, but justice to myself, here to state, as evidence of my *liberality* in the selection I made, that *all* the Referees differed from me in their views of the great doctrines of religion, which were then, and have since been, controverted in this region; and also, and *particularly*, in the affair of the late election of the Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College, which has imparted to the present controversy its chief importance. They are all of the party, who are in opposition to me, in the great controversy now agitated in this region. All their *partialities* and *interests*, could they be supposed to have any in this case, were *against* me, and in *favour* of Miss A. and her supporters.

These circumstances, however, as will be seen in my statement and argument before them, at the hearing, had not the smallest

* Hon. Judge Dawes, Hon. Sam. Dexter, Hon. John C. Jones, Benjamin Joy, Esq. Daniel D. Rodgers, Esq. Stephen Codman, Esq. Samuel H. Walley, Esq. Rev. Mr. Bates.

weight in my mind, against their sitting as my judges in this case. On the contrary, in my mind, they were rather inducements to the choice; because, I presumed their judgment on these accounts would have greater weight with the public, in silencing the slanders, which were so busily circulated; and I had not a doubt, but it would be such as would completely exonerate me in the case submitted to them, so plain a case did I consider it.

These observations premised, I now lay before the reader the documents, which were submitted to the Referees.

STEPHEN HIGGINSON, Jun. Esq. was the agent of Miss ADAMS, who did not appear before the Referees, *in person*, but by his attorney, FRANCIS D. CHANNING, Esq. his brother in law, since deceased. Whether he adopted this course from disrespect to me, with a view to wound my feelings; or from distrust of his own ability to manage his cause before the Referees, on account of the violence of his passions, I am not informed.

The hearing commenced, at 4 o'clock, P.M. on the 24th of April, 1809, and concluded the same evening.

Here follow the titles of the documents, which will be inserted in their order.

1. Mr. Higginson's letter to the Referees, Jan. 7th, 1809.
2. Mr. Higginson's general Statement of Miss A's case. Marked A.
3. Mr. Higginson's additional Statement. Marked B.
4. Remarks on the above Statements, by Dr. Morse.
5. Dr. Morse's letter to Miss Adams, of Sept. 26, 1804.
6. Miss A's letter to Dr. Parish, Oct. 13, 1804.
7. Dr. P's letter to Miss A. of Nov. 10, 1804.
8. Miss A's letters to Dr. M. and Dr. P. of Nov. 1805. (not sent.)
9. Letter from Cambridge, Aug. 8th, 1805.
10. Miss A's two letters to Mr. Higginson, of Dec. 27, 1808.
11. Dr. Holmes's letter to Miss A. of August 15, 1805.
12. Miss A's answer to Dr. H, Sept. 1805.
13. Dr. M's Letter to Mr. Josiah Salisbury, Dec. 7th, 1808.
14. Mr. Higginson's remarks on the preceding letter.
15. Dr. Parish's letter to Dr. M, April 20th, 1809.
16. Dr. M's argument before the Referees.
17. Remarks of F. D. Channing, Esq.
18. Mr. Higginson's letter to Judge Davis and Rev. Mr. Channing, Feb. 3, 1809, [not seen till the evening of the Reference.]
19. Judge Davis to Mr. Higginson, April 18, 1809.
20. Mr. Higginson's to Judge Davis, April 19, 1809.
21. Dr. M's note to Judge Davis, April 28, 1809.
22. Letter of Referees to Dr. Morse, April 28, 1809.
23. Dr. M. to the Referees, April 29, 1809.
24. Judge Davis to Dr. M. May 2, 1809.

Mr. Higginson's letter to the Referees.

BOSTON, JAN. 7th, 1809.

Sirs,

By an agreement between the Rev. Dr. MORSE of Charlestown, and myself, on behalf of Miss HANNAH ADAMS, it is requested that you would give your opinion, on the subjects of controversy between those two persons.

On the part of Miss A. I herewith submit a statement of the Dr's interference with her, in publishing his histories of New-England, in connection with the Rev. Dr. PARISH.

The papers I enclose are, first, my general representation of the business (marked A.) with some additional remarks (marked B.) in which I have suggested my own conception of the satisfaction with which Miss A. ought to rest contented. There are also several letters which have passed between the parties, which, without any comment on my part, will throw light on the subjects; as, 1st, Dr. M. to Miss A. intended to deter her from publishing an abridgment, which she had then, with great labour, and at considerable expense of her health, prepared for the press. 2d, Miss A. to Dr. PARISH, pleading her peculiar situation, and asserting her right to publish; 3d, Dr. P. to Miss A. * (On this last I cannot avoid one remark, viz. that while those Rev'd Gentlemen, could see an "interference" to their injury, if Miss A. should publish a small book for the use of schools, they appear to think, that their History, so far from its interfering with her Summary, would, in fact, aid the sale of it. Sometimes the works appear quite different; at other times, under a different view, to be sure, they are considered of "the same kind,") 4th and 5th, Miss A's letters to Drs. P. and M. which were written as soon as she discovered the new edition preparing at Salem, which was soon after those gentlemen had, as she supposed, sincerely retracted their threats of publishing an abridgment.

When Miss A. wrote these letters she was at the house of the Rev'd Mr. E. of Beverly, who dissuaded her from sending them, appealing to her religious principles, and urging the duty of Christian forbearance; they were therefore not sent, and are now shown only to exhibit the sentiments of Miss A. respecting the transaction at the time it was passing.

This will be excused when it is recollected, that Dr. M. appears to think that Miss A. considers herself to have no cause of complaint, and that the trouble you are now requested to take is chargeable wholly to "officiousness" on my part. With the same view I send also her two late letters to me on this subject, [dated Dedham, Dec. 27, 1808,] which fully explain the present state of her mind.

The letter from Dr. HOLMES, and Miss A's answer, are handed to you, merely to show her readiness to do justice to the character of Dr. M. (notwithstanding her sense of injurious treat-

* These three letters are inserted, p. 19. to 22.

ment) in contradicting an unfounded report to his disadvantage, which had got into circulation.

I have nothing to add, but an expression of my confidence, that your humanity will prevent you from declining an unpleasant service, and that you will give the subject a full and fair consideration. I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.

S. HIGGINSON, JUN.

A. *Mr. Higginson's general statement of Miss A's case.*

In the year 1799, Miss ADAMS published her Summary History of New-England. The manuscript, which had long been preparing for the press, was at last published in a state not satisfactory to her mind, as she would have condensed it more if time had been afforded her, but through ill health, and loss of eyesight, she was unable. Yet she was obliged to publish it, for a subscription had commenced, and she had received some money, but the fear of not completing it had induced her to stop the subscription.

The publication of the Summary History, which was undertaken wholly at her own risk, was rendered so expensive, that it was extremely difficult to obtain a sale for the books, and she was far from receiving the emolument she expected. Still however, she consoled herself, with the hope of pursuing her original design, and abridging it, as Dr. MORSE had done his Geography. She only delayed it on account of having so many of the Summary Histories on hand. Miss ADAMS, by exchange, disposed of a considerable number of that history; (though in such a way as not to indemnify her for the expense;) she was yet in debt, and was preparing for an abridgment, the publication of which, she hoped, might relieve her, when she heard of the publication of the history of New-England, for the use of schools, by Drs. MORSE and PARISH. She at once sought an interview with Dr. MORSE, mentioned her fears that this work of his would stop the sale of her Summary History, and would deprive her of any chance of relief from the sale of her abridgment, which she was preparing. Dr. M. at once endeavoured by flattery to sooth her mind; assured her that his work could not injure the sale of hers, &c. Miss A. then told him, she supposed he could have no objection to her publishing her abridgment; he answered, certainly not; and that he would gladly patronize it. Not long after this, she received a letter from Dr. MORSE, saying, that he had consulted with Mr. PARISH, who did not approve of her publishing an abridgment, and advised her not to do it, lest it should provoke them to publish an abridgment also!! This shock produced a serious effect on the weak nerves of Miss A. and deprived her of all power, if she had had the courage, to go on with her work.

She at once wrote to Dr. PARISH on the subject, and received an answer, very different from what she had expected from the tenor of Dr. MORSE's letter; and at an interview afterward this gentleman overpowered her with professions of good will.

While under the dejection of mind above mentioned, she visited Boston, and met with Mr. SHAW, told him her distress, and that she dared not publish this little work, on which she relied for support. Mr. S. however, encouraged her, and told her he would give her every aid in his power. With his advice, and that of some other friends, she put the work to the press, with a view of giving it a chance of being used in schools, notwithstanding the popular and powerful name of Dr. MORSE. Her friends obtained the recommendations of some respectable literary men, by aid of which, and the exertions of her friends, this edition was disposed of, without any profit, however, as the bookseller, in whose hands they were placed, had failed, and nothing was received of all the money he had collected.

Being on a visit at Salem, Miss A. called in at CUSHING and APPLETON's bookstore, to inquire if they would take some of her abridgments to sell. They declined, saying, they had undertaken to print an edition for Drs. MORSE and PARISH!

Judge of her astonishment! for, with all their flattery, she had not observed that they did not withdraw their threats, or promise not to come out again and interfere with hers. Yet now, while nearly all their edition was on hand (for it is not all sold to this day) she found a new one coming out, not called an abridgment, but shortened only, and put at a reduced price. On inquiry, Miss A. found that soon after Dr. P. had overwhelmed her with professions of respect and regard, and desire to serve her, he had applied to CUSHING to print this work. With a keen feeling of this mean, if not unjust transaction, Miss A. told Mr. C. if he did publish it, she would publish to the world the correspondence, to show the characters of these Rev'd. Gentlemen in their true light. As soon as I learned this, I had an interview with Dr. M. at Mr. TYNE's office, remonstrated against his injustice, and requested him to give up the proposed edition for her benefit, as the gain to him would be trifling, and to her the only support she relied on; for where his edition was used, it would necessarily prevent so far the sale of her work. The utmost I could obtain, was a promise to keep back the edition for the present.

A new edition (5000) of Miss A's abridgment was published under Mr. SHAW's care. The sale has been small, and the expenses not yet paid.

Thus it has rested; till now a new edition of Dr. M's history is advertised in Newburyport. The number is 4000, price 6s. the last was 7s. 6d. Now the sale of this must of course so far prevent the sale of hers; for two Histories of New-England will not be used in the same schools. This will so far go to deprive her of the means of support; and it will certainly be granted, that nothing but poverty on his part could justify a man in Dr. M's situation doing any thing which must produce such consequences to a helpless and needy female, whose situation and character

seem strongly to claim the patronage and countenance of men of virtue and religion, and more particularly of influential clergymen.

B. *Mr. Higginson's additional remarks.*

In addition to the facts already stated, I beg permission to call your attention to a wrong received by Miss A. which, though calculated in a less degree to injure her in a pecuniary view, was felt by her as severely wounding her hard earned reputation as an author.

Dr. MORSE's Compendious History came out several years after Miss A's Summary; and it will hardly be denied, that he derived considerable assistance in his labours from that Summary. He was without doubt relieved from much of the tedious employment (which had cost her so large a sacrifice of time and health) of searching through old and scarce books, and other documents, in which his materials were thinly scattered.

To this benefit Miss A. makes no objection. It is one of which posterior writers on similar subjects constantly avail themselves. But had she not a claim to some kind of acknowledgment for the advantages derived from her labours? was it fair or honourable, was it even consistent with truth, to say, after this, that the materials for a History of New-England, had, until then, until the publication of the Compendious History, been scattered in many different volumes, too expensive and too disjointed to be rendered useful to the rising generation? I am confident there is no occasion to enlarge, while addressing Gentlemen of your character, on impropriety and injustice like this.

This lady has spent her life in close application to literary pursuits, with a wish to earn an honest livelihood for herself, and to assist her worthy, though needy parent, and be useful and reputable to her country. Can it then consist with the feelings of an honourable man, to supplant her in her attempts to reap the pecuniary reward of her labours; and still further to withhold, from her the slightest public acknowledgment of the merit of her work; or of the aids he had derived from it?

I will suggest for your consideration, what I think may be considered as a fair and reasonable claim on the part of Miss A. It is, that the profits arising to Dr. M. from the edition now printing at Newburyport, be transferred to Miss A. When the vast difference in the circumstances of these parties is taken into view, I think it must be unnecessary to enforce this claim by many arguments which would naturally suggest themselves. Indeed I cannot but hope, that Dr. M. will gladly accept the proposal, and relieve you, Gentlemen, from the labour of making an award in the case.

S. HIGGINSON, JUN.

Dr. Morse's Remarks,

On Mr. HIGGINSON's statement of Miss ADAMS's case, exhibited to the Referees, in presence of Mr. HIGGINSON's attorney, F. D. CHANNING, Esq. April 24, 1809. He had read Mr. H's statement. Document marked A.

Quest. Has this statement been submitted to Miss A; and has it her assent, as correct?

The 3d. paragraph in the statement, (respecting the first interview with Miss A.) incorrect. Dr. M. has no recollection that the conversation here recited took place, at the time specified. The purport of it follows.

Quest. by Miss A. Have you, sir, any objection to my publishing an abridgment of my History of New-England?

Ans. Certainly not, Madam.

Miss A. I have had it in contemplation, to publish an abridgment of my History, and have partly prepared it.

J.M. As Mr. PARISH is concerned with me in the publication, it will be proper for me to have his consent.* I have no objection myself.

[The charge of flattery groundless, nothing was said that looked like it.]

Miss A. "It is well;" and we parted. Nothing material else, to my recollection, was said. This conversation took place in the crowd, as we came out of Thursday lecture.

I was not impressed by Miss A's conversation, at the time, with the idea that any *unpleasant* feelings toward me existed in her mind.

Query. As the preparation of our History was no private matter, and proposals had been in circulation, and in the newspaper for months, why, if Miss A. apprehended interference, did she defer her complaint, till after the work was published? Had she then made her objection, the consequences which have followed, might have been prevented.

After the interview with Miss A. I wrote Dr. PARISH, (I did not see him, as my letter seems to imply.) The purport of his answer, and in his own words, I immediately wrote Miss A. (See my letter, and the following correspondence between Miss A. and Dr. PARISH.)

Whatever unfavourable impressions were made on Miss A's mind by my letter, Dr. P. and myself supposed were completely effaced by his letter to her, and the interview which he had with her when he delivered the letter.

Dr. PARISH's letter to Miss A. I saw and approved, before it was delivered.

I have never exchanged a word, nor a letter, with Miss A. on this subject, since my letter above alluded to.

* My object in these Remarks, was to give a mere outline of facts: otherwise I should have here added, what is stated in my argument before the Referees, penned at the same time with the Remarks: that I engaged, at Miss A's request, to obtain for; and to transmit to, her Dr. P's opinion.

Does Miss A. or do her friends for her, claim the exclusive privilege of writing the History of New-England? Will the laws allow it? Will the public admit it?

By her own acknowledgment, her History is imperfect;* and from the state of her health, not likely to be improved. Were the public to be satisfied with this? Ours is admitted to be "larger," and better than hers; see Anthology, vol. ii. p. 542. 2d. col. and 544, 2d. col. 2d. paragraph. Was this "larger" and better work to be *suppressed*, to give place to one confessedly less valuable, and more expensive, merely because one was written by a worthy female, who was poor, and meritorious? Have we no rights?

The interview at Mr. TYNG's office, with Mr. H. lies very differently in my mind, from what Mr. H. has represented. Two other subjects, were the *primary*, and special objects of this interview. This of Miss A. I *voluntarily* introduced and explained, as I supposed, satisfactorily to both the gentlemen. I perfectly remember stating to these gentlemen, my wish to patronize Miss A's work, to review it in the Panoplist, &c. but that I could not, because, after the reports which had been circulated about the business, such patronage would be construed into an admission of my ill treatment of Miss A. Mr. H. said, "so it would, you can't do it."

MISS A. TO MR. HIGGINSON.

Sir,

DEDHAM, DEC. 27, 1808.

After attentively reading your statement, I have added a few lines, which I leave to your judgment. Among many other papers, I send two letters, written to Dr. MORSE and Mr. PARISH, after I heard they were about to reprint their concise History, but was dissuaded from sending them by some of my friends. In my letter to Dr. MORSE, I have stated the grounds of my complaints against him.

With regard to what he says in his letter to you, I do not wish my friends to interfere. Suffer me once more to explain myself. It has been my uniform opinion, that he has treated me ungenerously; yet I am ready to admit the only apology I can make for him, which is, that he wants that delicacy of feeling, which would enable him to form an adequate idea how deeply his conduct must wound the feelings of an helpless and delicate female.

From my being fully convinced of his indefatigable exertions to carry his points, the variety of his resources, my dread of having the subject again brought before the public, and the apprehension, that calling up the subject would excite those irritable feelings, which I wish to banish, from a sense of the great duty of forgiving injuries. From all these considerations, I have some-

* See the introduction of Mr. H's statement of Miss A's case.

times been willing to give up quietly, what I imagine my just right, and have sometimes expressed similar ideas upon the subject to some of my friends.

Yet your generous exertions to have justice done me, excite the most lively gratitude ; and however the affair will terminate, I shall feel myself equally obliged. I am with unfeigned esteem,
&c.

HANNAH ADAMS.

MISS ADAMS TO MR. HIGGINSON.

DORHAM, DEC. 27, 1808.

Sir,

If Dr. MORSE should allege, that he has a right to publish his concise History, because I made large quotations from his Geography in my Summary History, I desire it may be remembered, that in my preface to that work, I made a respectful acknowledgment to him, after mentioning his Geography and some other valuable Histories, I then add, "In abridging the works of these excellent authors, the compiler is sensible of her inability to do them justice, and has sometimes made use of their own words. The reader is always referred, for further information, to these ingenious performances ; and the highest ambition of the compiler is, that her imperfect sketch may excite a more general attention to the large and valuable histories of the country." Before I printed my Summary History, I asked the Doctor's leave to make quotations from his Geography. He answered, he was perfectly willing, and had been *equally* indebted to my View of Religions in his Geography.*

* * * * *

One thing besides, I forgot to mention ; when you did me the honour to call upon me. That is, a letter I received from the Rev. Dr. HOLMES, which I enclose.

* In a passage, in this place, which I omit, there is a delicate circumstance alluded to, connected with the name of a very respectable gentleman, distant from this place, who has no concern in this controversy, and a private letter of his referred to, which was not exhibited to the Referees, nor have I ever seen it. On these accounts I have taken the liberty to suppress this paragraph. This is done *solely* for the reasons I have now assigned ; not from any unwillingness on my part to have the transaction alluded to, laid before the public, as it admits of an easy and satisfactory explanation. If Miss A. thinks it will serve her cause, she is at liberty of course to publish the suppressed paragraph, and will doubtless do it ; but in fairness, she must in this case publish also the letter to which it alludes, and take the responsibility of introducing its author before the public, in this controversy. To this course, if she or her friends choose it, I have no objection.

When I perused it, I could not help thinking Dr. MORSE meant to intimidate me, so as to induce me, to exculpate him from all blame; and as I expected he would see the answer, while I justly cleared myself, from bringing that charge against him mentioned in Dr. Holmes's letter, I took care to let him know I felt hurt by his conduct.*

If you please, you may mention that my abridgment has been reprinted in England, for the use of Schools, as I find by the *Evangelical Magazine*, 1806. I subscribe myself with sentiments of gratitude, &c.

HANNAH ADAMS.

DR. PARISH TO DR. MORSE.

BYFIELD, APRIL 20, 1809.

My dear sir,

Perfectly conscious of my upright views respecting Miss ADAMS, I am not a little surprised to learn from you, that something in one of my letters to you respecting her, is thought exceptionable. I believe you will remember, that some time before that letter was written, there had been several attempts to render your Geographies unpopular, and to introduce others in their stead; and never having heard before of any intention of Miss ADAMS to abridge her *History of New-England*, my impression was, that the measure was adopted in consequence of our publication, and like the new Geographies advertised, designed to supplant our work. Under this impression, I immediately wrote as I did; but when soon after, by a letter from Miss Adams, I learned the friendliness of her disposition, and her real situation, I did, instantly, most readily and most heartily, in a letter, and in conversation with her, give my consent to her abridgment. I then really supposed this was all that she expected or *desired*. I certainly had no conception, that she wished us to relinquish our work; I am, therefore, surprised that a subsequent edition should wound her feelings; and as I knew of no injury my previous error of opinion had done, I did not think of its being imputed to me as a crime; I had even forgotten it.

As far as I am able to recollect, this is an exact statement; and so certain am I of rectitude on this point, I cannot think a more circumstantial explanation is necessary: but as no object, excepting goodness itself, is dearer to me than the favour of my fellow men; as a good name is better than precious ointment, I will thank you, if you think this will remove any unfavourable prejudices, to make such use of it, as you may judge most proper.

Fully persuaded I am, that if those persons, who entertain unhappy jealousies respecting your agency in the *History of New-*

* This letter to Dr. H. I have before stated, I never saw, till the time of the reference.

England, knew, as I do, the rise and progress of that work, and the disposition you have always manifested respecting Miss ADAMS, their jealousies would subside, and instead of accusing you, they would be, as I am, my dear sir, most sincerely, your cordial friend and brother,

E. PARISH.

DR. MORSE'S ARGUMENT BEFORE THE REFEREES.

[The Argument, of which the following is but a part, had reference to other charges of Mr. HIGGINSON, of a very serious nature, other than those of Miss ADAMS, which I expected would have been submitted to these Referees. The connection of one of the Referees, with some of the parties concerned, forbad, as he supposed, his sitting in judgment, under these circumstances. The hearing of course was limited, to my obvious disadvantage, to the case of Miss ADAMS. Such parts of the argument only as relate to this case, are here inserted. The other charges of Mr. H. of the more serious nature, it is proper here to state, have been since examined, by competent judges, and proved to have been altogether *calumnious and false*.]

Gentlemen,

No ordinary occurrence would have induced me to give you, or myself, the trouble of this Reference. I am compelled to do it in defence of what is dearer to me than my life, *my reputation and usefulness*, against the unprovoked, furious, and obstinately persevering attacks of a man, who, from his numerous and respectable connections, has influence to give, and has already given, I know not how extensive effects to his calumnies against me. Were the injuries occasioned by these attacks, merely personal; did they rest on me alone, I should bear them in silence. Rather than contend with a Christian brother,* I would have patiently submitted to them, and even greater than these. But the baneful effects of these attacks are not confined to myself; they wound that religion of which I am a minister; that sacred cause, which I am conscientiously bound to support. This cause, this religion, as well as my own character, I am now to defend. In this view the controversy before you magnifies into importance. I pray you, therefore, gentlemen, to hear me patiently.

I am happy in submitting my cause to the decision of men, in whose wisdom, integrity, and impartiality, I have the fullest confidence; of men, who are accustomed to judge between man and man; and who can, therefore, with the more ease and precision,

* Mr. H. is a professor of religion.

discern and define the prominent features and points in the controversy ; of men competent to estimate the nature and weight of charges, to judge of the evidence, that is appropriate, and necessary to support, or to refute them, and to prescribe the reparation proper to be made to the injured.

Unaccustomed, as I am, to business of this kind, and unacquainted with the usual forms of managing it, and constrained, as I have been, to prepare my defence in haste, amidst many interruptions, and under the disadvantage of feeble health, I rely with confidence on your candour, gentlemen, to overlook any informalities and incorrectness in my proceedings, and on your goodness to protect me, against any advantage, which my accuser, by his attorney, or in any other way, may be disposed to take of my not adhering to the usual forms.

I feel, gentlemen, that to be reproached *unjustly*, is no dishonour. To be *falsely* accused, fixes no stigma upon character. In some cases indeed, it is honourable to be the subject of *false* accusation ; because it furnishes the strongest proof of innocence. Why at the trial of the innocent Saviour, did his accusers bring in *false witnesses*, if the truth would have answered their wicked purposes against him ? (Mark. xiv. 55, &c.) Why did "certain of the synagogue, which is the synagogue of the *Libertines*," seditious men, *falsely* to accuse the martyr Stephen, but because they were unable to resist the spirit and wisdom, by which he spake ? (Acts vi. 9, 10, 11.) To bring a case nearer to our view ; why have political demagogues forged and circulated lies against their opponents, some of the fairest characters which our country can boast, but because the *truth* would have defeated their object ?

I am not so presumptuous, gentlemen, as to arrogate to myself the character of those whom I have now adduced, as examples, merely, to prove my assertion. If, however, it shall appear, as I am confident it will appear, that the charges brought against me are false, I shall have the consolation, and the honour, of suffering in the best of company.

The situation in which I am placed, by my accuser, is, on many accounts, trying, in the extreme, to my feelings ; yet, supported by conscious integrity, and innocence, as to the charges brought against me, I can with truth adopt the language of the Apostle ; "Troubled on every side, yet not distressed ; perplexed, but not in despair ; persecuted, but not forsaken ; cast down, but not destroyed." (2 Cor. iv. 8, 9, 10.)

Unpleasant and painful as is the duty now devolved on me, gentlemen, I cannot but consider it as a favour in Divine Providence, that I am called to fulfil it. For the last *four years*, the mass of calumnious charges now laid before you, like leaven, has been generating, and extending its deadly influence, upon my reputation, in this region. These charges have been *industrious*-

ly circulated, I know not how extensively ; first in blind *insinuations* ; then in more significant *whispers* ; at length in *direct charges*, in particular circles ; and, more explicitly and openly, in the anonymous publications of the day. All these things have been done in the dark, by persons, and in ways, impossible for me to detect or counteract. The effects have been visible and felt, while the causes have remained in a great measure concealed. I have been, therefore, constrained patiently to lie under the odium of many false and injurious charges, because no one seemed willing to take upon him the responsibility of supporting them. Through the officious zeal of my accuser, (Mr. Higginson) these charges have now assumed a shape in which I can meet them. They have now a *father*, who, though he may not have *begotten* them, adopts them as his foster children, and is pledged for their support.

Here then we are at issue. To enable you, gentlemen, precisely to ascertain the points of controversy between us, I will endeavour, from the mixed mass of materials before you, to collect, and arrange, in as short a compass as possible, his charges, and my defence.

* * * * *

The case of Miss H. Adams.

I now, gentlemen, would call your attention to the case of Miss ADAMS, about which such a host of misrepresentations and falsehoods have been industriously and extensively circulated against me. Out of the multitude of these falsehoods, I mention the following, as a specimen of the rest. [Here was related the MS. story ; the letter from Cambridge, of Aug. 8, 1805, was read, and the falsehood of the MS. story proved, from Miss A's own testimony.]

Misrepresentations not less injurious, have been published to the world, in the *Anthology*, under the sanction of "a Society of Gentlemen." [Here was read from that work, such passages as were in point.]

I will not consume more of your time, gentlemen, in relating other false reports concerning this affair ; nor will I attempt to give you a full view of their injurious effects on my character, usefulness, and interest.

I will only state, that in consequence of these reports, the abridgment of my *Geography* was excluded from all the public schools in Boston, in which it had been a classical book from the time of its publication, and this by order of the school Committee ; and Miss A's *History of New-England*, strange as it may seem, was introduced in its place. I have also been recently informed, that these same reports have been urged by one of the Trustees, as a reason, why my geographical works should not be introduced

into a numerous, and respectable Academy in a populous town in this Commonwealth.

You will now, gentlemen, look at the causes of this load of reproach and calumny, which has been heaped upon me.

In the *first* place, let it be remembered, that my *right* to publish the work in question, is not doubted by Mr. H. nor by any one else, to his knowledge. It is also admitted by Mr. H. that I published it with upright and honourable views of promoting the public good; and without the most distant thought of interfering with the rights, or interests, or wounding the feelings of Miss A. or any one else; and that I had no knowledge of Miss A.'s intention to abridge her work, till mine was published. Till this time, therefore, it is conceded by Mr. H. that I had given no just cause of complaint to Miss A. or to her friends, except by a clause in the preface of my work, which will be noticed in its place.

All the charges, which have any bearing upon this case, I conceive, may be reduced to the two, which are stated to my hand in Mr. HIGGINSON'S own words, or those of his attorney, as follows.

1. "My first charge is, that you *did* interfere with her (Miss A.'s) rights, by a cruel, and unmanly threat to publish an *abridgment* to meet hers, which threat, (contrary to your *apparent* intentions,) you did actually prepare to execute, and was deterred only by the influence of Miss A.'s friends."

2. "Miss A. has always felt herself slighted and injured in her reputation, as a writer, by the manner in which Dr. M. treats her *Summary History*, which had then been published only a short time, and which, in his preface to his concise *History*, is classed with those "disjointed volumes," which were described as too expensive, to be rendered useful to the rising generation.* This passage is considered by Mr. H. as "a wrong done Miss A. which though less calculated to injure her in a pecuniary view, was felt by her, as severely wounding her hard earned reputation, as an author."

Here, gentlemen, you have compressed in these two charges, in Mr. H's own language, the substance, nay, I will venture to say, the *whole amount*, of all the causes of the hue and cry raised against me, in regard to the affair now under consideration.

Admit, gentlemen, for a moment, that these charges were true, and fairly stated, I ask whether they amount to a justification of the treatment I have received? to a "forfeiture to Miss A. of the profits arising from the work" in question, which Mr. H. very modestly requests you to adjudge to her?

* See this passage from the Preface, inserted p. 71.

The amount of the first charge, as it stands, is, that a cruel, and unmanly threat was made to Miss A. by Dr. P. and myself, which, it is admitted, was not executed.

The second charge does not pretend to injure her in a pecuniary view, but is only calculated to hurt her feelings and reputation, as an author.

But, gentlemen, I will strip these charges of their uncomely dress, and exhibit them naked to your examination. You will then be able to estimate the injury Dr. PARISH and myself have done Miss A. both in her interest and feelings.

First, as to the "cruel and unmanly threat," by which we are represented, both as invading the rights, and wounding the feelings of Miss A. This dreadful *threat*, which forms the blackest spot, in all the charges against us, and which the Anthology Reviewers have marked with no less than three notes of admiration, is to be found in my letter to Miss A. and is couched in the following words. [Here my letter to Miss A. of Sept. 26, 1804, p. 19. was read, and a statement given of the circumstances which gave rise to it; and reference made to the subsequent correspondence, and interview between Dr. P. and Miss A.]

I will candidly acknowledge here, gentlemen, that more consideration, at the time, would have led me to have pursued a different course in this business. Instead of forwarding the extract from Dr. P's letter to Miss A. I should have written back to Dr. P. and persuaded him to have united with me in consenting to her abridgment, and not have left it to her to do it. To this omission and impropriety, occasioned by that rapidity of action, to which I am often impelled by the variety and multiplicity of my engagements, you will attach all merited blame. I am conscious that I did not *intend* the slightest injury, either to the rights or feelings of Miss A. I would observe, that I never had myself the smallest objection to Miss A's abridging her history, that I merely, *agreeably to my engagement*, transmitted to Miss A. Dr. P's opinion; that I should with great cordiality have patronized her work, as I had ever done her former ones, had she and her friends *permitted* me to do it. These, gentlemen, are truths. All the blame, which can justly attach to me in this part of the business, is simply the omission and impropriety I have stated. As to Dr. P. his letter and subsequent verbal explanation, will have the weight they ought to have in atoning for his offence. [Here was read Dr. PARISH's Letter, of April 20, 1809, p. 87.]

But there "was an attempt *afterward* to execute this *threat*," which was prevented only by "the influence of Miss A's friends."

Let it here be remembered, that no engagement on our part, not to publish another edition of our work, is even pretended to

have been made. What is meant by our "*apparent intentions*" not to do it, I know not. I certainly indicated no such intention in any way; for I have neither written nor spoken to Miss A. since my letter, which is before you. Dr. P. has no recollection of having given any ground for the observation in his interview. It is not given in his Letter, nor has it been in any other way, to his knowledge. Had we, therefore, proceeded with our new edition at Salem, we should have violated no engagement with Miss A. nor infringed her rights. We should have only executed our original plan, as exhibited in our proposals, months before our first edition was published. [The printed Proposals were here exhibited.]

But it is important here to recur to dates and circumstances. The preparation to execute our "*threat*," (as Mr. H. styles it) was made late in the fall of 1805, more than a year after the first was published, and subsequent to the publication of Miss A.'s abridgment. Six months before this, the ground of violent opposition to our History of New-England, and to one of its authors, had been taken, and the scandalous reports, mentioned, were in circulation. The not less scandalous review in the Anthology also was published. The abridgment of my Geography was moreover excluded from the public schools in Boston. All these things were done, not by Miss A. but by those who called themselves her friends; less, it is believed, to benefit her, than to injure me. Instead of complaining to me of the supposed wrongs I had done her, and thus giving me an opportunity to explain my conduct, and to satisfy her, which as a friend (as I had ever been to her,) and as a Christian, she ought to have done, Miss A. complained first to those, who, I fear, felt an interest, at this time, to lessen my influence. She sought redress, not from me, who she supposed had done her the wrong, but from those, who, without any investigation into the state of facts, or asking any explanation of me, or attempting to persuade me to make her satisfaction, for the supposed injuries she had received, have circulated and published to the world, the grossest falsehoods, and misrepresentations, concerning me.

And here, gentlemen, you have the *secret* of the whole business. It is impossible that men of discernment can find in the charges brought against me in this affair, an adequate foundation for such treatment as I have received. The truth is, gentlemen, Miss A. and her complaints, against me; her sex, her merits, her bodily infirmities, her poverty, her aged parents, &c. all together, furnished to my ingenious adversaries, an admirable weapon with which they might wound me. They seized it with avidity, and have used it with their utmost skill. She has yielded herself, and her accusations against me, to be managed wholly by Mr. H. and his coadjutors, behind the curtain; and herein I think she has erred. But I impute it to weakness in her, and in no degree to unworthy motives. A part of the plan has been to magnify her

supposed wrongs, to increase her prejudices against me, to exalt themselves in her estimation, and to prevent any reconciliation between us. Witness the effect produced by the friendly visit of Mr. E. [See Mr. HIGGINSON's Letter to Judge DAVIS and Mr. CHANNING, Feb. 3, 1809, in its place.]

In this state of things, Miss A. surely could have no claims on our *generosity*. And she certainly had no *just* or *legal* right to object to our making the most advantage of our own property, which, it is admitted, was honourably acquired. She had permitted her cause to be managed by other persons, our adversaries, who had so managed it, as to render it *necessary for us to contend for our own rights*. It was in this state of things, gentlemen, that we contemplated a new edition of our work at Salem, which excited such surprise in Miss A's mind, and so much warmth of resentment in that of Mr. H. We were "deterred" from proceeding in this new edition, not from the influence of Miss A's friends, nor from any consideration of the kind; but from very different causes. We felt that, in the then existing circumstances, we had an undoubted right to proceed in our publication; and that neither Miss A. nor her friends, had any just grounds of complaint against us for so doing. "Those who would have friends, must show themselves friendly"—Those who lend themselves to others, to be used for sinister purposes, can certainly expect no more than justice from those whom they are made instrumental of injuring.

Such, gentlemen, is our vindication against the first charge. We proceed to consider the second. [See it stated p. 91.]

On this charge, I think it needless to say much.

I penned the offensive paragraph myself. [See p. 71.] Whatever impression it may have made on Miss A's mind, I had not the remotest intention to "slight or injure her reputation, as a writer." The idea I meant to convey, and which I believe is conveyed, though it might have been done perhaps more correctly, is, that we had no history of New-England of a *size and price* adapted to *youth*, and to *schools*. So Judge DAVIS thought, who first suggested the publication; so Miss A. herself thought, else why did she think of an abridgment of her 8vo. History? The change of the word *and*, for *or*, would render the paragraph perfectly correct, and probably would have saved the feelings of Miss A. This unintentional inadvertence I regret, because it has been construed into a "slight and injury" of a "person, whose reputation as a writer I have ever respected, and whose works I have always patronized." I trust, gentlemen, we shall not be made offenders for a word.

This is our answer to the second charge.

I ought here to add a few remarks, on the alleged injury which our work has occasioned Miss A. in *preventing the sale* of her work. It would be sufficient were we simply to deny the fact, and to call on Mr. H. for his proofs. Should he say, that more

of her works would have sold, had not our History been published ; we might say in turn, the reverse is true, for reasons which I have already stated, [p. 68, 72.] Who will undertake to decide this question ? And yet, till it can be decided on some fair principles, and a *wrong proved*, no indemnification surely can be adjudged.

But it should here be remembered, that Mr. H. has admitted that we had an undoubted *right* to publish our work ; that we did it with upright and honourable views of promoting the public good ; that we had not the most distant design to interfere with Miss A's rights or interests ; and of necessary consequence, that we honestly and honourably acquired the property we hold in this work. Of course, had it even prevented the sale of her work, he relinquishes all claims on our *justice*. After the treatment we have received, he surely will not prefer any claims on our *generosity*.

The only remaining ground on which Mr. H. can rest a claim upon us for compensation to Miss A. is that of an *unintentional wrong*. If any wrong has been done by us to Miss A. in her rights or interests, or feelings, it has certainly been *unintentional*. But we contend that no wrong has been done here. She surely does not set up a claim to the exclusive privilege of writing the History of New-England. Nor will she say, that we have unjustifiably availed ourselves of her labours. We have been charged with this, it is true, but not by Miss A.* She has honourably acquitted us from this charge. [See her Letter to Dr. HOLMES, p. 33.] If we have not trespassed on her rights, or her property ; if we have uprightly and honourably exercised our own rights only, how can we be chargeable with a wrong ? Who has a right to complain ?

It is stated by Mr. H. that Miss A's work [her 8vo. Hist.] was first "published in an *imperfect* state, not satisfactory to her mind." And the Reviewers of our History, who are the advocates of Miss A. assert, that, "considered simply as a History of New-England, our Compendious is *larger* than Miss A's *Summary* 8vo. History." [See Anth. vol. ii, p. 542.]

Can Mr. H. with any appearance of justice or modesty, call upon us, in the manner he has done, to give a part of our property to, Miss A. *merely* because, in the exercise of our undisputed rights, and with upright and honourable views, we have prepared and published a "larger," and more complete History of New-England than hers ; and offer it to the public at a little more than half the price ? Do Miss A's sex, and merits, and circumstances, (which I trust we regard and appreciate, as highly and justly as Mr. H.) take away the merit of others, and give

* As Miss A. had contradicted the story of the MS. I had supposed she meant to exonerate us from the charge of an improper use of any of her works. Yet it seems she has sanctioned a charge of this kind in a note in her Reply to my Appeal, [p. 3.] She has done this, however, without evidence, and against evidence.

her a just claim to their property ? We are willing and desirous, gentlemen, that Miss A. should enjoy all her rights, all her well earned reputation ; all the sympathy, and charity, and kindness, which her sex, and her peculiar circumstances demand ; but let it be remembered, I pray you, that we also have rights to be respected, and a reputation to be defended. We know we have not *designedly*, and we believe we have not in *fact*, trespassed on the rights, or slighted the reputation of Miss A. or impaired her interest. Why then, does she permit Mr. H. to attempt to deprive us of our acknowledged rights ; to take from us the honest rewards of industry ; and, what is far more injurious, to blast our good name ?

Such, gentlemen, are the charges brought against me by Mr. H. and such is my defence. You will judge whether or not these charges amount to an adequate cause for all the obloquy and reproach, which they have been made instrumental of heaping upon me, for a considerable time past. Are not, I ask, all the transactions we have been considering, and which have been made the foundation of these charges, of a kind, which are occurring every day, in the ordinary intercourses of life, in which the public take no interest, and which the parties themselves forget as soon as possible ?* Why are such transactions, after a lapse of years, brought up, mutilated, distorted, and associated with the grossest falsehoods, and circulated avowedly to injure my reputation ? Have I not reason to conclude, that these are the *ostensible* causes only, of the evils I am made to suffer ; and that the *real* cause is carefully concealed ? Why the zeal in Mr. H. to destroy the character and influence of a man, which, but a few years ago, he was equally zealous to promote ? Are the causes brought into view sufficient to account for this change ? And if more important causes existed, which would bear to be avowed, is it not probable, from the temper he has discovered, that the public, and myself would have been made acquainted with them ? Is it then presumption, or arrogance, or "art" in me, to declare my belief, that the evils I suffer, are the offspring of a spirit of persecution ? This spirit shows itself through Mr. H. as its organ. On him I am constrained, I confess with no small reluctance, (for I am not blinded, by all that has passed, to his many virtues and amiable qualities, which, amidst all his imperfections and blemishes, I can distinguish and esteem) to fix the odium and the guilt, which attaches to the persecution, which I am made to suffer. But on this topic I forbear. Thus much, I have thought it my duty to state.

You have heard my defence, gentlemen. You perceive what is the foundation of the charges brought against me ; the evidence on which they rest ; their intrinsic weight. You will estimate the labour, the solicitude to myself and family, and the loss of time, and health to which they have subjected

* Other charges besides those of Miss A.'s are here alluded to.

me ; and also the injury I have sustained in my property, and good name. From this full view of the whole ground of controversy between Mr. H. and myself, you will judge, gentlemen, whether these charges are of a nature, and are so well supported by my accuser, as to justify him in subjecting me to these injuries. If so, you will acquit him. If, on the other hand, you shall find his charges of a nature frivolous and improper, and without support ; and that they have derived all their efficacy to injure me, from an ingenious association of them with falsehoods, and with facts and circumstances altogether foreign ; or from their being of a nature too delicate to investigate, and which I am forbidden to bring to the light ; if you find this to be the state of facts in respect to this controversy, I am persuaded, gentlemen, you will declare my innocence and honourable acquittal, and adjudge the reparation due me, from my accuser. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*

F. D. Channing's Remarks, submitted to the Referees, after the preceding Argument.

The Statement in writing of Dr. MORSE, is, I believe, a correct transcript of what he read before the Referees.

My Remarks on the Statement are, I presume, in the minds of the Referees, and I wish not to recapitulate.

I wish only to state, that, in answer to a question of Dr. MORSE, "Why Miss Adams did not object to the publication of the Compendious History, before its publication," that Miss ADAMS assures me, that she never heard, directly or indirectly, *that the work was advertised, or in the press* ; or she should have objected to it ; and that her question to Dr. MORSE, whether he was willing that she should publish an abridgment of the Summary History, "was not to obtain his consent, but to discover if her rights would be at all respected by Dr. MORSE and Dr. PARISH."

As to the Statement respecting the conversation in Mr. TYNG's office, Mr. TYNG has a perfect recollection of it ; and of Mr. HIGGINSON's mentioning his satisfaction at having induced Dr. MORSE to abandon his intended edition at Salem for the present. Mr. TYNG has an impression very strong on his mind, that the conversation Dr. MORSE alludes to, took place, at another time.

F. D. CHANNING, to the Referees.

Remarks of Dr. Morse, on the preceding.

Miss A. says she "never heard that our publication was advertised, or in the press." It was advertised, and proposals issued and circulated about five months before it was ready for sale ; and it was some time after this, that Miss A. spoke to me. It was not my fault that Miss A. did not earlier know of our publication. It

is truly surprising that she should not have seen our proposals, which were circulated in the newspapers, and separately.

It seems that the question Miss A. put to me, was, by her own confession, *insidious*. She asked it for a purpose, of which I had no suspicion at the time, nor till I saw the preceding. Had Miss A. frankly told me her feelings, at *that time*, all the difficulties which have since grown out of this affair, might have been prevented by a few words of explanation.

The conversation in Mr. Tyng's office, I am *very confident*, is as I stated it. I have a perfect recollection of it, and of the circumstances, and the very expressions used.

I had another conversation with Mr. H. afterward, to which Mr. T. alludes. [See this conversation stated, p. 64, 65.]

MR. HIGGINSON TO JUDGE DAVIS, AND REV. MR. CHANNING.

Boston, Feb. 3, 1869.

Sirs,

When I sent you a Statement of Miss ADAMS's claims on the Rev. Dr. MORSE, I sent him a copy, and in his letter of the 10th of January, he promised to send me his Remarks upon it immediately. Not having since heard from him, and finding the new Edition of his work complained of, is now for sale in this town, I have thought best again to call on him, and have written him this day on the subject. I have been the more impelled to this by the discovery, that he has employed her friend, Mr. E. of B. to urge her to the abandonment of her rights, rather than contend for them with a man, who has so much the power to injure her.

Having learned from Mr. TYNG, that you have doubts, about undertaking to decide on this subject, I beg you, gentlemen, to advise me on this point; that, if I have no alternative left; I may, without delay, appeal to the public, in defence of a much injured woman. I am, gentlemen, respectfully, yours, &c.

S. HIGGINSON, JUN.

In explanation of that part of the foregoing letter, which refers to Mr. E's visit to Miss A. I publish, in this place, Mr. H's letter to me, to which he alludes; my reply, and a note of Mr. E's addressed to me, after his visit to Miss A. I will only say here, that this visit of Mr. E. to Miss A. was altogether an incidental matter. Mr. E. happening to call on me, on his way to Dedham, and other places, (as he was riding for his health) I requested him, should he happen to see Miss A. to ascertain whether she had seen and *sanctioned* the statements of Mr. H. Whether she approved his conduct in managing it on her account, as he did; and what generally was the state of her mind. Nothing like a request to "*abandon her rights*," was proposed by me to Mr. E. nor did he, to my knowledge, make to Miss A. any such request.

The visit, in its design and accomplishment, was, in every point of view, perfectly honourable and proper, both on my part, and that of Mr. E. The conduct of Mr. H. in complaining of it in so serious a manner, excited only the *smile* of every one, who was made acquainted with it.

MR. HIGGINSON TO DR. MORSE.

Sir,

Boston, Feb. 3, 1809.

Although several weeks have passed, since I forwarded to you a copy of the papers I had handed to Judge DAVIS, respecting Miss ADAMS's claims upon you; and although from your letter of the 10th ult. I had a good right to expect to have heard from you long before this; I should not have troubled you, or myself, with another address, but for a circumstance which has occurred, that so far from being an indication of proper dispositions, on your part, appears to me to furnish a new cause of just complaint.

I allude to the visit of your friend, Mr. E. of B. to Miss A. as he went from you to Dedham. I have reason to presume he went at your instance, and that you selected him as your instrument, from a knowledge of the place he held in the esteem and confidence of Miss A. I forbear to state in this place, the means he used to induce this humble and tender woman to yield, what he could not himself deny to be her rights. I mention the subject, only to convince you, that your *arts* are known; and that they will be counteracted to the utmost of my power, and this helpless woman protected against their mischievous effects.

I owe it, however, to Mr. E. to declare, that neither Miss A. nor her friends, doubt the purity of his motives, in the advice he gave; as from his known, and peculiar disregard of all pecuniary considerations, there can be no doubt, but that he would, under the same circumstances, refrain from contending for his own rights, especially when it would give offence to a man whose power to injure, he, (Mr. E.) seems fully aware of. I am sir, &c.

S. HIGGINSON.

DR. MORSE TO MR HIGGINSON.

FEB. 4, 1809.

P.S. Before I had closed the above letter, yours of yesterday was handed me. Neither Mr. E. nor myself, I believe, were apprized of your claim to the *exclusive privilege* of conversing with Miss ADAMS. I presume Mr. E. meant to infringe the rights of no person, and made his visit with the best intentions. He can, however, answer for himself. As to your insinuations respecting myself, they deserve and receive from me nothing but the smile of contempt.

J. MORSE.

MR. E'S NOTE TO DR. MORSE.*

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I was happy to find Miss ADAMS in usual health, though her mind was much exercised upon the subject of difficulties. She appears most earnestly desirous that the matter may be amicably and happily settled, with the least possible noise. She considers Mr. H. as acting for her from motives pure and disinterested; and has committed the affair to Mr. H. and cannot withdraw it. The papers, of which Mr. H. gave you copies, she considers correct, according to the best of her recollection.

The reader will please here to notice, the willingness and desire manifested by Miss A. *herself*, to have the existing differences amicably settled; but it seems she had put it out of her power to do it, having so committed the business to Mr. H. that she "could not withdraw it." The extreme solicitude and jealousy of Mr. H. lest these differences, which his own indiscreet zeal had increased, should be amicably adjusted, is here also obvious. Of the sort of *sympathy, benevolence and zeal* of Mr. H. in the cause he had espoused, the reader will here find a correct specimen.

JUDGE DAVIS TO MR. HIGGINSON.

Sir,

BOSTON, APRIL 18, 1809.

It is understood to be the mutual wish of the Rev. Dr. MORSE, and Miss H. ADAMS, represented by you, that Judge DAWES, Mr. DEXTER, and myself, should arbitrate on the misunderstanding between them. This is an unpleasant office; but we have thought it a duty to undertake an examination of the subject.

I am requested to inform you, that we shall meet for the purpose of hearing the parties, at the Exchange Hotel, on Monday, the 24th inst. at 4 o'clock, P.M. Yours, respectfully,

J. DAVIS.

MR. HIGGINSON TO JUDGE DAVIS.

Sir,

BOSTON, APRIL 19, 1809.

Yours of yesterday, I have received this day, and am much gratified to find you gentlemen have agreed to enter upon an examination of Miss ADAMS's claims. It is perhaps needless for me to add, that Miss A. and all her friends, will most cheerfully acquiesce in the decision of so respectable a tribunal; let it be as it may. The state of the case has been long since submitted to you, at the instance of the Rev'd Dr. MORSE; and I have nothing to add to that Statement, unless any thing stated as fact should be denied by Dr. MORSE; or any new fact is alleged by him, which is thought to have any influence on the merits of

* This note has no date, it must have been written I conclude sometime in January 1809.

the case. In which case I should be glad to have it noted, and an opportunity given me to reply.

Not wishing to be present myself, I shall take the liberty of requesting a friend, probably Mr. F. D. CHANNING, to attend in my stead, at the Exchange Hotel, on Monday, the 24th inst. at 4 o'clock.

Dr. MORSE has given me notice, that he shall also lay before you some other matters, probably in the form of charges against me; having taken the liberty to speak of him, and to him, very freely, on certain conduct of his, in various instances, all which I have thought to be entirely unbecoming the character he ought to sustain as a Christian minister.

I have no objection that the correctness, or opposite, of my inferences should be tested by the gentlemen who have agreed to examine Miss A's Case. Should the subject be brought forward, Mr. CHANNING will be instructed to hand you the papers on that subject also. I am, respectfully, yours,

S. HIGGINSON, JUN.

DR. MORSE TO THE REFEREES.

APRIL 23, 1809.

Gentlemen,

Mr. CHANNING informed me yesterday, that Miss ADAMS was making out a statement of her claims (as I understood) to lay before the Referees. I cannot suppose that this statement can be admitted, after so full a hearing, especially without my knowing what it is, or having an opportunity to answer. It is a singular mode of conducting a Reference, where one party refuses to appear, and *afterward* sends a written statement to the Referees. I cannot for a moment doubt but that every thing proper in this business will be done on your part, and that I shall be protected against all unfairness on the part of Mr. H. Yours, respectfully,

J. MORSE.

THE REFEREES TO THE PARTIES.

BOSTON, APRIL 23, 1809.

In the Reference between Miss H. Adams, represented by Stephen Higginson, Jun. Esq. and Rev. Dr. Morse,

The Referees would express to the parties, that they think it inexpedient to receive from them any statements or documents, which were not made or produced at the *hearing*, unless it should appear, that such statements or documents have been *previously* seen by the parties respectively, or their attorneys.

The Referees cannot take upon themselves the office of reciprocating those communications between the parties. They return to the parties respectively, all papers transmitted to the Referees since the hearing; and they now assign *Monday, the 8th day of May next, at 4 o'clock, P.M. (at the Exchange Hotel,)* for a *final hearing*, on the matter submitted to them.

If the parties should choose to submit any additional documents to the Referees, or to make their respective comments in writing, instead of having another hearing, the Referees have no objection; and, indeed, would prefer that mode of procedure; but all papers must be transmitted by mutual consent, or evidence must accompany them, that they have been reciprocally communicated; and this evidence should be a certificate made by one party, on any paper intended to be transmitted by the other party.

If the parties elect to conduct the business in this mode, it is expected, that they transmit all further communications they may wish to make, on or before the said 8th day of May.

THOMAS DAWES, by order of the Referees.

REV. JEDIDIAH MORSE, D.D.

P.S. Correspondent notice is given to Mr. HIGGINSON, and all papers received from him, since the hearing, have been returned to him.

APRIL 29, 1809.

DR. MORSE TO THE REFEREES.

Gentlemen,

Yesterday I received, with much satisfaction, notice of your determination not to receive from the parties in the reference of Miss A's case, "any statements, or documents, which were not made, or produced at the hearing; unless it should appear, that such statements or documents have been previously seen by the parties respectively, or their attorneys."

The document I enclosed, *was produced at the reference* though the whole of it was not read. I have transcribed the parts which *were read*, in the hearing of Mr. CHANNING, who had appeared to reply, and now enclose it. I have no wish myself to exhibit any thing more to the Referees, in this case, than what was exhibited at the reference. Nor am I unwilling to meet any new facts, charges or evidence, which Miss ADAMS, or Mr. H. for her, have to exhibit in the case; though I think it rather uncivil, both to the Referees and myself, (after all the complaint he has made against me for *delaying* the reference, and refusing to be present,) to request to be heard further, under existing circumstances. Yet if Mr. H. feels embarrassed by the manner in which he has managed the cause of his client, and you think, gentlemen, that he will have the slightest ground to complain of me, as taking any advantage of him, or his client, in this reference, I entreat you to manage it, so as to remove this ground. As I never have designedly given him any cause to complain of me, I certainly would not do it in this case.

If, consistently with the above observations, gentlemen, you can proceed with the "statements and documents, made and produced at the hearing," before you, to make up your judgment on the case submitted to your decision, I am perfectly willing you

should proceed in doing it, without further delay. A copy of Mr. H's note to you, of this morning, which is before me, from him, informs me that he also consents; so that, unless we hear again from you, nothing further is to be expected from either of the parties. Very respectfully, Yours, &c.

J. MORSE.

JUDGE DAVIS TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, MAY 2, 1809.

Dear Sir,

I delivered your letter to Judge DAWES; your assurance that a copy has been sent to Mr. H. or his attorney, is sufficient. As to the enclosed document, which I returned to you, it appears to us, that the letter, and spirit of our rules of proceeding, as communicated, require that it should be delivered to Mr. H. or his attorney; or that a copy of it should be thus sent; I perceive the distinctions suggested in your letter, on which you consider it excepted. Many things might be suggested to impair the force of this distinction, but it would be an unprofitable use of time, to spend it in such a discussion; and if there is a doubt, it certainly is best, to prevent all suspicion, or complaint, that it should be communicated to the other party. The Referees have no disposition to preclude, or embarrass, unnecessarily, the presenting of additional communications or documents; but they are solicitous that the rules prescribed, be strictly pursued. This seems essential to a satisfactory result. I shall be out of town for several days, but expect to be at home before Monday next. I wished to express these ideas, because, from very pressing engagements yesterday, I could not give that attention to what you seemed to wish to suggest, which you might have desired.

Yours, respectfully, &c.

JOHN DAVIS.

Such was the voluminous mass of documents laid before the Referees. Such the "*mountain created out of a mole hill.*" In view of it, we may well exclaim, in the pertinent language of an Apostle, St. James, iii. 5. "*Even so the TONGUE is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold how GREAT A MATTER A LITTLE FIRE kindleth.*"

In these documents, the public have the *whole* of the evidence in the case, which was before the Referees; and they can, and I trust will, judge *for themselves*, as to the nature and foundation of Miss A's *claims* on Dr. P. and myself.

On the 11th of May, 1809, the Referees delivered to the parties the following *OPINION*, or, as it has since been named, *AWARD*, on the points in controversy, which were submitted to their decision.

THE OPINION OR AWARD OF THE REFEREES.

We are requested to give an opinion on the merits of a controversy between Miss HANNAH ADAMS and the Rev. Doctors MORSE & PARISH.

Miss HANNAH ADAMS is the Complainant; she alleges an interference with two of her publications, the Summary History of New-England, and an abridgment of that History, by the Compendious History of New-England, which the Rev. Gentlemen above mentioned have published in two editions.

Miss ADAMS is represented in this submission by STEPHEN HIGGINSON, Jun. Esq. and it was stated by the Rev. Doct. MORSE, at the hearing before us, that he had authority to include the Rev. Doct. PARISH.

After full deliberation on the Evidence and Observations presented to us by the parties respectively, it is our opinion, that Dr. MORSE, and Dr. PARISH, in making the publication complained of, *have not violated any right, which any Judicatory, legal or equitable, is competent to enforce.* We are however of opinion, that Miss ADAMS, by her pre-occupation of the subject, and her assiduous and useful labours in the management of it, was entitled to attention and respect from gentlemen contemplating a publication of like import, embracing the same period of time, and which, unless obviously defective, must necessarily exhibit strong features of resemblance to Miss ADAMS's work. The peculiar circumstances of that Lady, were also to be regarded, and would seem to require particular tenderness and attention, in any procedure which might tend to diminish the profits of her literary labours.

From a due estimation of these considerations, there should, as we conceive, have resulted a conviction, that some amicable overtures were due to Miss ADAMS, for satisfying her undefined claims, before a publication should be made so similar to her performance, and so likely to interfere with her reasonable expectations.

The obligations resulting from views of this description, are still in force, and should, in our opinion, restrain Dr. MORSE and Dr. PARISH from bringing their "Compendious History," into competition with Miss ADAMS's "Summary" and Abridgment above mentioned, without previous reasonable offers of compromise with her.

We have not sufficient information of facts to enable us to say what ought to be the terms of such compromise. The undefined nature of the claims which we have suggested, may produce honest diversity of sentiment, and should prompt to a candid judgment on the subject. The transaction, like many other moral concerns, may take its true character from circumstances, views, and motives, not appearing in evidence, and which may scarcely admit of a distinct exhibition.

We would add, that we have not seen sufficient in this transaction, to require the severity of censure, that has occasionally been

applied. We can perceive, and duly estimate, the generous sympathy, which might have prompted to harsh expressions ; but their irritating tendency must be admitted, and they may have impeded a friendly and satisfactory accommodation between the parties.

Boston, 11th May, 1809.

THOMAS DAWES.
JOHN DAVIS.
SAMUEL DEXTER.

In consequence of the *ambiguity* in the language of this Award, and the difficulty I found in ascertaining its precise meaning, and what it required of Dr. P. and myself, I was led to consult, as I had the opportunity at the general Election which followed soon after, a pretty large number of eminent and discerning gentlemen, judges, lawyers, and clergy, of my acquaintance, who called on me, some of them from distant States. One gentleman, whom I consulted immediately on receiving the award, an able counsellor at law, who now fills a high office in the national government, after reading it attentively and repeatedly, observed with a smile, "this *award* would do honour to the pen of *Tallyrand*." Not a single individual whom I consulted, or have since consulted, one excepted, (and this would hardly be considered as an exception, were all the circumstances known,) was, or has been of the opinion, that it awarded any *pecuniary* compensation to Miss A. The only clause which seemed to lay Dr. P. and myself, under any obligations whatever to Miss A. is the following.

"The obligations resulting from views of this description, are still in force, and should, in our opinion, restrain Dr. MORSE and Dr. PARISH from bringing their "Compendious History" into competition with Miss ADAMS's "Summary" and Abridgment above mentioned, without previous *reasonable offers of compromise* with her;" i.e. as I understand the Referees to mean, we were to continue the sale of our History, till we had made Miss A. "reasonable offers of compromise," or till we should see Miss A. *not* have an explanatory conversation with her on the difficulties, and misunderstanding, which unhappily existed between us; make "mutual concessions"* to each other, and "agree," as to the course to be pursued in regard to the present and future editions of our respective works, that there might be no interference with each other, no jealousies. So I understood the Award, after all the aid I could derive from dictionaries, and the ablest living commentators, whom I had opportunity to consult. Accordingly with these views, and with a sincere and upright desire to comply honourably and strictly with the foregoing requisition of the Referees, on the 2d of June, 1809, (twenty days after receiving the Award,) I requested Mr. E.† a very

* See Johnson's definition of the word "compromise."

† I suppress his name and office by his particular desire. They can be known to any person, who wishes the information.

worthy and respectable friend of both parties, and a very *particular* friend of Miss A. who accidentally called at my house, and expressed his intention to call on his friend, Miss ADAMS, to say to her from me, that I wished to meet her in company with a mutual friend, and amicably to *compromise* our differences, as recommended in the Award. Mr. E. accordingly delivered personally my message to Miss A. the day above mentioned, and brought me back for answer, that she *declined the proposed interview*. On my expressing much surprise at such an answer from Miss A. Mr. E. in the goodness of his heart, concerned lest he had not said enough to Miss A. or that she might not have correctly understood my message, delayed, on this account only, to return home that day; and the day after called a second time on Miss A. and not finding her at home, left for her the following note.

MR. E. TO MISS ADAMS.

BOSTON, JUNE 3, 1809.

Dear Sister,

I regret that any thing you said to me yesterday, has given you a moment's uneasiness; and I still more regret your absence this morning. I saw Dr. MORSE yesterday. He appeared disposed to comply with the result of the Referees, as he understands it. He does not consider any pecuniary compensation recommended. He wished when I saw you, and still wishes, for a friendly conference with you alone, or in company with some friend to both parties, in order to make the "compromise" recommended by the Referees. It will afford me much satisfaction, if I can give you any assistance in this matter, that has been so painful to me, as well as to you. Yours, most cordially,

E.

Miss A. treated this note, and the "offers of compromise," which it contained, with *total neglect*. She neither wrote nor sent any verbal message to me, in reply to it. Nor has she since taken any notice of my message, or Mr. E.'s friendly note to her, except in the following passage in a letter to me, of Dec. 4th, 1812, *three years and an half after*. "The only offer of a compromise you made me, was an interview with yourself, and Mr. E.* which being made in the absence of my highly esteemed friend, Mr. HIGGINSON, and the late excellent Mr. CHANNING, who managed the business for me with the Referees, I thought and still think, I ought not to have accepted it." [The reader will here turn to the above letter, in its place, and read the three sentences which follow the one quoted.]

Without stopping to remark, as I might, on the unbecoming manner in which Miss A. treated the friendly "offers of compro-

* My proposal was an interview "in company with *some* friend to both parties," not Mr. E. particularly, though no one could have done better.

missing" this business, tendered her by Mr. E. in my behalf, and on her unsatisfactory and singular reasons, for this treatment, assigned more than *three years* after, and which must be obvious to every reader, I would observe, and at the same time would request that the observation may be particularly noted, as a very important one in this controversy, that *I considered at the time, and have ever since considered, that the "offers of compromise" above stated, made by Mr. E. to Miss A. by my desire, and in my behalf, and which Miss A. thought fit to treat with neglect, were on my part an honourable, full, and complete fulfilment of the requisitions of the Award; and that Dr. P. and myself, were in this manner exonerated from every obligation to Miss A. in regard to her Histories of New-England, except what every other individual in the community is under to her.*

Such was, and has been uniformly my own opinion on this subject; and I have been confirmed in its correctness, by a similar opinion explicitly given, (several in writing as will be seen,) of more than *fifty* gentlemen, a large portion of whom rank among the ablest jurists, and first divines in our country.

Here then let it be understood, that I considered at the time, and have ever since considered, all Miss A's "claims" upon Dr. P. and myself, founded on our alleged interference with her Histories, and all her complaints laid before the Referees on this subject, as *settled and terminated*, and this too, in *exact conformity* to their Award. All that I have since done, in regard to this affair, has been *gratuitous* on my part, and has been occasioned by a contrary opinion, obstinately insisted on, and maintained by Miss A. and her supporters; and done in counteraction of that opinion. For the reader should here be informed, that since the MS. story, and other falsehoods and misrepresentations, were wrested from my adversaries, the opinion alluded to has been very industriously used in their place, to assail and defame my character. But to return to the history of the Award.

Being solicitous to *understand*, in order that I might honourably comply with the Award, I sent a copy of it a day or two after it was received, to a very discerning and judicious friend of mine, conversant in business of the kind, requesting his opinion of it. His answer follows.

Dear Sir,

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1809.

* * * * *

With respect to the *award*, I declare it is a *right nice thing*, and evidently the result of prudent circumspection. The circumstances of the case, which influenced the decision, are delicately alluded to, and the whole business is so exactly balanced, that it made me think of King James's declaration in a case which came before him, "*Troth, the men are baith in the right on't.*" It seems to be explicitly enough declared, that you and Dr.

PARISH have done Miss ADAMS no injustice; you have not violated ANY right which ANY judicatory, legal or EQUITABLE, is competent to enforce. In this view of the subject, it is not surprising that her claims are undefined; for, from the terms used, there seems to be no cause of action, even in foro conscientiae. And really, I cannot see that you were under any obligations to ask Miss ADAMS's permission to write and publish the History of New-England. If hers were as good or better than yours, it would receive the patronage of the public, and you would suffer for your temerity in publishing another. Were yours the best, the friends of science ought to encourage the sale of it, with a view to the public good. Upon any other principle, any active book maker might prevent other publications than his own, (however good they might be) upon any subject, and obtain a kind of exclusive privilege, merely by pre-occupying the subject. What then would become of improvement in science? Miss ADAMS appears to me to be precisely in the same situation with all other authors, in respect to the principle. If you view her in *forma pauperis*, this circumstance will alter the case; and I presume that neither yourself nor Dr. PARISH would refuse to any person in such a situation, the assistance which both the dictates of humanity, and the laws of Christian charity require. But this puts the thing on a different footing. Her necessities and your ability would accurately define her claim, and she could have no right to expect a compromise. Yet a "compromise" is mentioned, and the obligations to it are represented, as being still in force. Miss ADAMS then does not appear in *forma pauperis*, but as having a legal or equitable claim; but this the Referees abandoned *in limine*. How then shall the nature either of her claim or the compromise be ascertained?

* * * * *

I do not see that you are accused of any thing but not giving Miss A. a compensation for the check given to the sale of her book, by the publication of yours, which it is not clear to me that she had any claim upon you for. Were I a party in this cause, I should be better satisfied with that part of the award, than with the remainder, if applied to me; as improper "severity of censure" and "harsh expressions of an irritating tendency" cannot be satisfactorily accounted for; and the Referees appear to think that in this case they were not justified, even by "sympathy."

For the reasons before stated, by the advice of the legal friends whom I consulted, I addressed the following queries to the Referees, the day after Mr. E. had called on Miss A. and before I knew how she would treat my message sent by him.

QUERIES OF DR. MORSE TO THE REFEREES.

CHARLESTOWN, JUNE 4, 1809.

Gentlemen,

I take the liberty respectfully to ask of you, an explanation of the opinion you have given in the controversy sub-

mitted to you, relating to the Histories of New-England, published by Miss H. ADAMS, Dr. PARISH, and myself.

1st, What is the precise nature of that "undefined claim," to satisfy which, we are to make "reasonable offers of compromise" with Miss ADAMS? Is it any other than what is expressed in the following terms, namely, *attention and respect* from us, and "*particular tenderness and attention*?" If any thing more, in what expressions of the Referees is it to be found?

2dly, On what principle is this claim founded? Is it any other than "pre-occupancy of the subject?" and "assiduous and useful labours," in the management of her work; and the "peculiar circumstances" of Miss ADAMS? Do these considerations give Miss ADAMS an exclusive privilege to write the History of New-England? Is it the opinion of the Referees, that the first occupant of a subject, who treats it laboriously, and usefully, by this circumstance acquires the exclusive privilege to write and publish on that subject; so far at least, as that no contemporary author can, in propriety, or honour, publish his own researches and views on the same subject, without previous "amicable overtures" shall have been made to the first author? If so, has not this principle been hitherto disregarded? Is it reasonable or practicable, or would it be for the benefit of the republic of letters, to conform to it?

3dly, As it is the opinion of the Referees, that we have been subjected, by our opponents, to an unjustifiable "severity of censure," and to "harsh expressions of an irritating tendency, which may have impeded a friendly and satisfactory accommodation" with Miss ADAMS; are we to expect any satisfaction from our opponents for these wrongs they have done us? and if any, what? If "amicable overtures" are due to Miss ADAMS for satisfying her "undefined claims," which have hitherto been impeded by an unjustifiable and provoking interference, ought we not to expect that these impediments should be removed, by suitable concessions, before "offers of compromise" be made on our part?

We are truly sorry to trouble the Referees further on this unpleasant business; but an answer to the foregoing questions seemed to us necessary, to enable us to understand what is expected from us in order to fulfil their intentions, to which we wish to pay a respectful deference. We find also that there is a considerable diversity of opinion among those, who have read the result, as to its true intent and meaning. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. MORSE.

Hon. JUDGE DAWES,
JUDGE DAVIS,
SAMUEL DEXTER, } Esquires.

Having received no answer from Miss A. to Mr. E's note, and apprehending the course which she might pursue, that of silence and neglect, I added the following.

JUNE 16, 1809.

By the advice of some judicious friends, I beg leave to add one question to those already proposed to the Referees, viz. If "reasonable offers of compromise" shall have been made, on our part, and disregarded by her, (Miss ADAMS,) are we then absolved from all further obligations to satisfy her "undefined claims?" If not, what further is expected from us?

J. MORSE.

Answers of the Referees to the above Questions.

BOSTON, JULY 3, 1809.

Reply of the Referees, in the controversy between Miss HANNAH ADAMS and the Rev. Doctors MORSE and PARISH, to the inquiries proposed by the Rev. Doctor MORSE, in his communications of the 4th and 16th of June last.

To the first Interrogatory; it cannot be reasonably expected, that the precise nature of what we have denominated an undefined claim, the terms of compromising which, we could not ascertain, for want of sufficient information of facts, should be particularly specified. While the Referees have expressed a conviction, that there was not a violation, in the case of a right, which could be *judicially* enforced, they conceive they have sufficiently manifested their opinion that the *attention*, *respect*, and *tenderness*, considered to be due to Miss ADAMS, relative to her publications, should, in their just operation, have prevented the interference complained of, and ought now to restrain its continuance, unless reasonable offers of compromise should be made, and should fail of having their proper effect. This is so clearly expressed, that we consider it only necessary to suggest a renewed examination of the report, for an answer to the inquiry on this head.

To the second Interrogatory; it was the duty of the Referees to express, with sufficient perspicuity, their opinion on the case submitted to their consideration. If they have failed in this, they are disposed to give any necessary elucidations, for manifesting, more clearly, their intentions. But they must decline entering into a discussion with either of the parties, on the *grounds* and *principles* of their decision. In addition to what is mentioned in their report, it is sufficient to say, generally, that all the facts and circumstances of the case were brought to a *moral test*, the law of kindness and benevolence. While the Referees decline a minute discussion of the grounds of their opinion, it is not from any doubt of their solidity; nor are they apprehensive that any general principle which they have assumed, is either unreasonable, impracticable, or injurious, in its tendency and operation, to the "republic of letters."

To, the third Interrogatory ; for any supposed *harsh expressions* which the Referees had in view, Miss ADAMS is in no degree answerable. The Referees were willing to make the suggestion referred to, as an apology for past inattention to Miss ADAMS's reasonable claims and expectations ; but, in the present stage of the affair, we do not conceive that such 'claims and expectations should be affected by any considerations relative to such expressions. In regard to any persons to whom the intimation given in the report may be supposed to apply, the Referees have, perhaps, no right to express an opinion, in what degree they may have erred, or what duty and propriety now require from them on this subject. The suggestion was vaguely and indefinitely made ; because the matter was only collaterally connected with a subject submitted, and did not form an essential part of the controversy. The Referees certainly did not intend to intimate an opinion what satisfaction was, on this account, due to Doctors MORSE and PARISH, or in what manner it should be rendered : much less did they mean it should be inferred, that any apology or explanation on this head should be required, as a preliminary to any overtures to Miss ADAMS ; whose claims are, in our opinion, altogether independent of such considerations.

Upon a re-examination of the supplementary question in Doctor MORSE's letter of the 16th of June last, we cannot think that an answer will be insisted upon ; the amount of that question being only, whether any thing more can be expected by Miss ADAMS, after all that could be reasonably required should have been tendered by Doctors MORSE and PARISH.

Our apology for having deferred this reply so long, is the engagements of the Referees, and the absence of one of them for a considerable time since we received the interrogatories.

THOMAS DAWES.

JOHN DAVIS.

SAMUEL DEXTER.

Here I had supposed this most frivolous and vexatious controversy would have terminated. I thought I had done enough to satisfy any *reasonable* minds. Unfortunately, I had not such minds to deal with. My health, always slender, and my ordinary labours ever as great as my constitution could well endure, was, by these long continued, extraordinary and perplexing attentions, extremely reduced ; so much so, that my recovery became doubtful ; and as the only mean, which would be likely, in the opinion of my physician, to effect it, a visit to the southern states for the succeeding winter, was advised to, and determined on. Just on the eve of my departure, in the midst of my preparations for so long an absence ; in the tender scene of parting with a numerous and beloved people ; doubtful whether I should ever meet them again in this world ; when my hands and heart were as full

as they could bear, and *known to be so* by Miss A. and her friends, by *her request*, after *five months contemptuous neglect* of my *friendly overtures* to her, to do the very thing she now requested, the following letter was addressed to me.

Y. D. CHANNING, ESQ. TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, OCT. 30, 1803.

Sir,

As I have heard within a few days, of your intention of journeying for your health, through the winter, I have to request on the part of Miss ADAMS, that some adjustment may be effected, before your departure, of the claims of Miss ADAMS, on yourself and Dr. PARISH, on account of the interference of your *Compendious History of New-England* with her *Summary and Abridgment*, &c. In conformity with your wishes, these claims have been submitted to the consideration and decision of Judge DAVIS, Judge DAWNS, and Mr. DEXTER, Referees, named, as I understand, wholly by yourself, and in whom the friends of Miss ADAMS placed the most implicit confidence. After a discussion, in which you fully stated your defence, almost without comment or remark from me on the part of Miss ADAMS, these gentlemen made their Award. *This leaves no room for a question as to the nature or extent of your obligations, or of Miss ADAMS's claims. It decides explicitly, that though she has no rights, which can be enforced in a court of law or equity, yet as your work, "if not obviously defective," might diminish the profits of "her literary labours, she was entitled to amicable overtures before a publication likely to interfere with her reasonable expectations; that this obligation continues, and should restrain yourself and Dr. PARISH from bringing your Compendious History into competition with her Summary, and Abridgment; that the past interference was a just subject of complaint, and that its continuance ought to be restrained, except after a refusal of reasonable terms."* What the terms of compromise shall be, we are left to settle. The Referees state, that they have not sufficient data to adjust them. As to the nature of them, however, there could be no doubt, even before the explanatory communication of the Referees in reply to your interrogatories. They are to include pecuniary or solid compensation for the injury Miss ADAMS has received, and may receive, to be made either by the advance of a certain sum, the purchase of her copyright, the suppression of your own work, or some arrangement, which would yield her similar advantages. The candour and delicacy manifested by the Referees to yourself and Dr. PARISH, do not, however, diminish in the least, the force of their declaration, that Miss ADAMS is entitled to overtures and reasonable offers of compromise, before you proceed in the sale of a work, which, from its resemblance to hers, may diminish the profits of her literary labours, and interfere with her reasonable expectations. And when they refer to a moral test,

and to the laws of kindness and benevolence, they at least intimate, that *in foro conscientie* she is entitled to an Award of compensation for an injury, which the law of the land cannot redress. Such an award will with you be more sacred, than the formal decision of any other tribunal.

I have thus, sir, very frankly stated to you my opinion of Miss ADAMS's rights and your duty. In this opinion I am not singular. I have therefore hoped, that you would have proposed to me some offers of accommodation, and that we should not at this time have been left to discuss the measure of injury, when it is to be presumed there could have been no intention of wrong. I have been often requested by the friends of Miss ADAMS, and at length by herself, to desire of you an adjustment. Miss ADAMS, with her usual frankness, declares, that she wishes it "more for your sake than her own." I have to regret, that I have been compelled to propose a measure, which I had reason to expect from you; and I do it now only from a conviction, that on every principle a settlement cannot too soon take place. You must be sensible with myself, that the friends of Miss ADAMS universally hold, that according to the Award, it has become your duty to propose to her reasonable terms of compromise. When, however, it is requested on her part, you will excuse the suggestion that those who at the least are not partial to you, will not put a favourable construction on a longer omission to comply with what they conceive the letter and spirit of the Award.

You will believe me, when I assure you, that I ardently wish a conclusion of this affair. I engaged in it without prejudice, and I hope with pure motives. I have pursued it thus far from a sense of duty. And I now write you, with confidence, that our discussion on the subject will be soon closed by a just and final arrangement. With respect, your humble servant,

F. D. CHANNING.

DR. MORSE'S ANSWER TO F. D. CHANNING, ESQ.

CHARLESTOWN, NOV. 6, 1809.

Sir,

I received yours of the 30th ult. after my return from Andover. In reply, I have to say, that as the Referees considered Mr. HIGGINSON's "harsh and irritating" language and conduct, as having "impeded a friendly and satisfactory accommodation" of the differences which existed between Miss A. and Dr. P. and myself, on the subject of our Histories of New-England; and adjudged, that previously to our "bringing into competition" our History with hers, "reasonable offers of compromise should be made to her," for the alleged defect, on our part, of "attention, respect, and tenderness" toward her. I accordingly, in strict and formal compliance with the Award, as I understood it, and as my legal and other friends understood it, made her these "reasonable offers of compromise," through the medium of Mr.

E. a mutual friend to the parties, on the 3d of June last, immediately after receiving the Award. She has seen fit to treat these "reasonable offers" with entire neglect. In my own view, therefore, and in the opinion of my most judicious friends, the Award has been honourably and satisfactorily regarded on my part.

You must allow me, sir, utterly to disclaim all right of interference in this business, on the part of Mr. H. or his attorney, as contrary both to the letter and spirit of the Award, and to the subsequent explanation by the Referees. It is absurd to suppose that the Referees could have recommended that "offers of compromise" with Miss A. should be made by me through the medium of a man, who, by his past provoking conduct, had, in the opinion of the Referees, prevented the very compromise which they recommended. I should, therefore, have been justified, in treating your letter with silent neglect, as an officious interference in a matter, in which your client had no concern. But I was willing, though contrary to the advice of some of my friends, to treat you, sir, with the civility (though the tenor of your note does not seem to demand it,) to state to you the above facts and observations; in expectation, however, that this shall for ever terminate our correspondence on this subject.

I will add, that as this subject has been brought by the Referees to a "moral test," I am of course left to decide for myself according to the dictates of my conscience, whether or not I have in this case transgressed "the law of kindness and benevolence." Of such transgression I am not conscious; except in two cases where reparation was made *immediately* on my being made acquainted with the offence. The cases to which I allude were mentioned in my plea before the Referees, and are the offensive sentence in the Preface of the Compendious History, and my letter to Miss A. in which I relate Dr. P's opinion. For these offences, if they can admit of the epithet, ample atonement has been made Miss A. and in these you have what I consider *the whole amount* of the injury I have ever done Miss A. in her character or property. "I have thus, sir, very frankly, stated to you my opinion of Miss A's rights and *your duty*" as Mr. H's attorney.

Why the singular overture, contained in your letter, should, at the request of Mr. H. Miss A. and others, their and your friends, "*who at the least are not partial to me,*" be made, after five months profound silence on the part of Miss A. subsequent to her receiving in writing my formal "offer of a compromise," as stated in the Award, and this too, just on the eve of my departure on a journey for the recovery of my health, when it could not but have occurred, that I must be engaged in making arrangements for my journey to the full extent of my little remaining strength, is not difficult for me and my friends to conjecture, who are acquainted with the bitter, unrelenting, persecuting spirit, with which the controversy between Mr. H. and myself has been conducted on his part. Such conduct in him, after what has passed, can ex-

cite in me no surprise. I trust, however, that I feel toward him, as a Christian minister ought to feel toward a furious and relentless persecutor, and as such pray for him.

As I have never willingly given Miss A. any pain, and still wish she may not suffer on my account, and as, by your representation, she seems to be *burdened* with concern for my reputation, you will please to request her from me, to give herself no further solicitude on this subject. Her anxiety, if it gives her pain, after what has passed, can do me no possible good. You will please to consider this as closing "our discussion of this subject," and my "final arrangement" respecting it. With due esteem, your obedient servant.

J. MORSE.

P. S. The other subjects in controversy, left for reference, must of necessity be left till my return. I have neither health nor time to attend to business of so unpleasant a nature.

In this state the controversy rested, during my absence of about six months; and indeed, till early in the year 1812; except that the old "MS. story," and that of the "threatening letter," and the *new* complaint of our dishonourable non-compliance with the Award of the Referees, were privately circulated, sometimes with less, at other times with more, vigour and industry, as was found convenient and necessary to effect certain party purposes.

At the time above mentioned, (Feb. 1812.) an occurrence took place in the Legislature of this Commonwealth, which revived this controversy in a form more serious and injurious to me, than it had ever before appeared. A bill was now pending before the House of Representatives for incorporating "*the American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions*," in which was my name, as one of that Board. In a debate on this bill, EDMUND DWIGHT, Esq. a member from Springfield, opposed its passage, for the following, among other reasons, viz. "That there was one person named in that Bill, in whose character he had not a perfect confidence." These are the expressions used, as Mr. D. admits. Others, very respectable and credible witnesses, who were present, recollect them differently, and say, that to their minds, was conveyed by Mr. D. an *implicit*, and *unqualified* impeachment of the *integrity* of the person alluded to; and that such, in their belief, was the impression left on the minds of the members of the House, and of the spectators. The bill was lost, and its failure was ascribed, at the time, to the part taken by Mr. D. in this business. Five gentlemen were named in the bill; and as no name was mentioned by Mr. D. the high charge, he had thus publicly made, rested on the whole body. Accordingly the suspicions of individ-

uals, variously prejudiced, fixed the stigma, in turn, on every one of the five persons named in the bill. All were led of course to inquire, who was intended, and to exonerate themselves. Knowing as I did, Mr. D's connections and acquaintances in Boston, how strong their prejudices ran against me, generated by this affair of Miss ADAMS, and other things equally frivolous; and that Mr. D. had in all probability imbibed a portion of this prejudice, I thought it not unlikely, that I was the person to whom he alluded. Accordingly, in a subsequent interview with him on the subject, he frankly acknowledged, that I was the person to whom he had reference. I asked him, whether, by the expression he used, he meant to impeach my *integrity*. He said he did. This, I replied, is a very *serious charge*, Mr. D.—Pray on what foundation do you rest it? He referred me *generally* to certain reports prevalent in this region, particularly in the circle of his friends, on the truth of which, he said, considering the respectability of the characters from whom he received them, he must rely; but he rested his charge more especially, and *principally*, as I understood him, on my *injustice* toward Miss H. ADAMS. I told him, I was well acquainted with the reports which he mentioned, and that I knew also, they were *all* without any substantial foundation; and added, that if he would call on me for a few hours, I would undertake to convince him of the truth of what I then stated. He replied, that if he could be satisfied, that he had been misinformed, and in consequence had done me injustice, *he would make me amends in as public and extensive a manner, as he had done me the injury.*

This interview took place, in one of the Committee rooms, at the state house, early in June, 1812. With the frankness and candour of Mr. D. manifested at this interview, I was pleased. I considered who were his Boston connections, and made the due allowances for him; and hoped, that in the state of mind in which I then found him, he would be open to conviction, in regard to his error, and the injury he had done me; and that he would promptly do what a Christian and a gentleman ought to do in like circumstances. I have to regret that this hope has been disappointed. Having stated these facts, I leave the public, and Mr. DWIGHT to make their own reflections, and to form their own judgment on the correctness of this conduct.

In October of this year, (1812,) I heard for the first time of Miss A's letter to Mr. SHAW, of which a particular account has been given [p. 22, 27, to 29.] This circumstance gave rise to the following correspondence. With a view to obtain this letter, or a knowledge of its contents, I addressed a letter to Rev. Mr. BATES, which he communicated to Miss A. to which she made to him the following reply.

*Extract of a letter from Miss H. Adams, to the Rev.
Mr. Bates.*

MEDFIELD, OCT. 30, 1812.

Assure Dr. M. that the statement I have of the difficulties between us, was written prior to the Award of the Referees, and is essentially the same that was inspected by him, and by them. I have, since the decision, avoided showing it, and conversing upon the subject. For the same reason, I should decline all communication upon the subject with Dr. M. except as far as relates to the Award of the Referees. I am willing to receive any written communication, with reference to their Award. A discussion of the subject in any other point of view, cannot answer any valuable purpose.

DR. MORSE TO MISS ADAMS.

CHARLESTOWN, NOV. 13, 1812.

Madam,

Mr. BATES has shown me your letter to him of Oct. 30th, written in consequence of one I wrote him, a short time before, on the subject of your statement, &c. You mention your willingness to receive from me "any *written* communication on the subject of the Award of the Referees." Mr. BATES verbally stated also, that you were willing to have an interview with me, on the subject, in his presence. This is what I sought more than two years ago, through Mr. E. but which you then declined. I should, on many accounts, prefer this course, to that of writing. A vast deal too much time has already been spent in *written* controversy on a subject, which *one hour's* conversation, or even less, at its commencement, would have amicably settled. Your friend, Rev. Dr. PRENTISS, whom I saw yesterday, advises to this course, as by far the best to close this unhappy controversy. Had such an interview taken place *eight* years ago, when the seeds of dissatisfaction first entered your mind, much evil and trouble to us, and to others, might, and no doubt would, have been prevented. Such an interview, conducted, as I trust it will be, with a Christian temper on both sides, I have strong confidence, will *even now*, notwithstanding all the prejudices which time and circumstances have generated, amicably terminate on proper grounds all existing differences between us. This interview shall be at a time and place most agreeable to you. I wish it may be as early as can be made convenient. If you wish to have any others present, I have no objection, provided they are not *particularly interested*. If you are willing, I should like to have Dr. HOLMES and Deacon WALLER, or either of them, present.

I shall be obliged by your early answer to the above, and am,
with respect for your talents and virtues, your obedient servant,

J. MORSE.

MISS ADAMS TO DR. MORSE.

Boston, Nov. 25, 1812.

Rev. Sir,

Permit me to assure you, that I now am, and ever have been, willing to receive any written communications from you, respecting the Award of the Referees. Upon the most mature consideration, I think this method vastly preferable to a personal interview; besides, I understood Mr. BATES, that he absolutely declined being present; and it would probably take more time to find two persons, to whom neither of us would object, and to fix the time and place for an interview, than would be spent in writing. You may assure yourself, that any communications you see fit to make me, on the subject of the Award, shall be received with respect, and treated with candour. As I can assure you, I do not mean it as a reflection, I hope you will have the goodness to excuse me for saying, I wish you to comply with this measure, more for your sake, than my own. But if you refuse, I shall not harbour any unfriendly feelings; but sincerely wish that the unhappy dispute between us may be buried in oblivion. From your humble servant,

HANNAH ADAMS.

DR. MORSE TO MISS ADAMS.

Charlestown, Nov. 30, 1812.

Madam,

I received yours of the 25th inst. I regret that you are so averse to a personal interview, on the subject of the unhappy misunderstanding between us; and which, from the neglect of such an interview, and the officiousness of some persons, who, whatever may have been their professions, have been *really friendly* to neither of us, has grown into serious importance, as respects us both. Any "*written* communications respecting the Award of the Referees," I am persuaded, the more I reflect on the subject, can tend to no good; but would probably widen, rather than heal our differences. This is also the decided opinion of others, my judicious friends, and friends also to you. A personal, friendly interview, in presence of one or more friends, is what they pressingly urge, as the *only proper mode* of bringing this needless controversy, to an amicable and speedy close. For such an interview, I have ever been, and am now, disposed. Mr. BATES made no objection to me, to being present at such an interview. I presume he will not object. And, to bring the matter to an issue,

without further delay, I will, should you consent, in the course of this week, say Thursday afternoon, if Mr. BATES can then attend, or as soon after as can be made convenient to us all, call on you at your lodgings, or at any other place you may propose, and hold the proposed interview. I have no wish to have any other person, than Mr. BATES, present; but if you wish, and will name any other person, equally disinterested, I shall have no objection to have such other person present.

I am persuaded that this course is not only proper, in every view of the subject, but is moreover absolutely *required* by the positive precepts of that religion, which we profess; and to refuse such an interview, when so repeatedly offered, and urged on my part, under existing circumstances, in my opinion, will be a violation of some of the plainest precepts of Christ. It is also the very course recommended by the Referees themselves, as I understand, and as others also have understood, their Award. It was on this ground, that, immediately on receiving the Award, through Mr. E. I made the proposal of a friendly interview, which, had you then accepted it, I have no doubt a "satisfactory accommodation" would have been the consequence. Such an accommodation, I have as little doubt, would now be the consequence of a friendly and candid discussion of the grounds of our differences. If you sincerely wish for such an accommodation, of which I will not doubt, you cannot, I conceive, refuse the reasonable overtures I now make you. I am confident *your reputation and interest* are as much concerned in such an accommodation, as mine. In this belief, I hope you will readily accede to my proposal, as above stated, and thus amicably, and for ever terminate all our differences; that I may again have the pleasure to subscribe myself your friend,

J. MORSE.

MISS ADAMS TO DR. MORSE.

Boston, Dec. 4, 1812.

Rev. Sir,

The receipt of your second letter does not alter my determination of declining an interview, which, upon the most mature deliberation, does not appear expedient, much less a duty. As to my own reputation, which you hint is concerned, I feel no anxiety that it can be affected among those whose good opinion I value. But even if it should be, while I have the approbation of my own heart, I shall rest contented.

After the subject had been reviewed by respectable men of your own choice, I hoped a final end would be put to the controversy. But the only offer of a compromise you made me was an interview with yourself and Mr. E. which being made in the absence of my highly esteemed friend Mr. HIGGINSON, and the late excellent Mr. CHANNING, who managed the business for me

with the Referees, I thought, and still think, I ought not to have acceded to it. Besides, Mr. E. informed me, first verbally, and afterward in a written document, that you did not consider any pecuniary compensation was implied in the Award. As I was placed in a comfortable situation, by the generosity of my friends, the subject became less important. However, for your own sake, I can truly say, more than my own, I still hoped you would see the propriety of making some offers of *compensation** for the continued interference of your work with the sale of mine; but your final reply to Mr. CHANNING gave me to understand, that the proposal made to Mr. E. was all you could make.

At present, I do not wish, for my own sake, to receive a compensation; and as I do not think any discussions upon the subject would make us agree in sentiment respecting the decision of the Referees, I cannot consent, nor can I think it a duty to agitate my mind any further upon a subject, which I have long dismissed from it. And while I relinquish my claim to a compensation, I declare it my fixed purpose to decline writing, or receiving any more letters upon the subject of the unhappy dispute between us. I am persuaded that an interview could not answer any valuable purpose; and would give you, as well as myself, unnecessary pain. But if I had no other reason for declining it, I should find one in your reflections on those respectable gentlemen, who have given me the most unequivocal proofs of disinterested friendship. In the unhappy misunderstanding between us, I am persuaded that they espoused my cause from a full conviction of my inability to defend, what they, as well as myself, considered my right, against a gentleman of your talents and influence. By the generous exertions of those excellent friends, I am relieved from the embarrassments of poverty, and placed in an eligible situation; and while my heart continues to beat, it will ever glow with the most lively gratitude. I adore the goodness of divine Providence in giving me such valuable friends; and though I cannot make them any returns for their kindness, I shall not cease to invoke the blessing of heaven upon my generous benefactors. It gives me additional satisfaction, that I am indebted to those for whom I entertain the most perfect esteem, and whose moral excellence is known and duly appreciated. If you have been apprized of the obligations I owe my excellent friends, and the strength of my grateful feelings toward them, I must express my surprise, that you did not consider, that the slightest reflections upon them would wound my feelings much more, than the most severe invectives against myself.

I can assure you, Rev. Sir, that neither my friends nor myself, wish to revive the unhappy controversy between us, and I

* The Referees say "*compromise*;" why is another word here substituted, of a very different meaning; why but to mislead? The same thing is done by Mr. CHANNING, and has been by others. It is an *unauthorized* and unjustifiable alteration of the Award.

sincerely hope it may close without any further ill consequences. Be pleased to accept my good wishes for your present and future welfare. From your humble servant,

HANNAH ADAMS.

I pass the foregoing correspondence without comment. I leave the reader, with the facts he will have before him, to form his own unbiassed opinion of it.

Finding that, however "sincerely Miss A. might have hoped that this unhappy controversy might close without any further ill consequences,"—her friends and supporters were yet very busy in criminating me, as having neglected honourably to fulfil the Award of the Referees, by making Miss A. *pecuniary compensation*, as *they* chose to understand the Award to mean. With a view, if possible, to remove this *new* ground of reproach, I addressed to the Referees the following letter.

DR. MORSE'S LETTER TO THE REFEREES.

CHARLESTOWN, MARCH 17, 1813.

Gentlemen,

I presume on your candour to excuse me in making one further request of you, respecting the unpleasant affair, on which you were kind enough to give an opinion, about four years ago; I allude to the affair of Miss ADAMS and our Histories of New-England. A difference of opinion has arisen between the parties and their respective friends, whether or not Dr. PARISH and myself, have complied, on our part, with your Award, according to its true meaning and intent. We think we have; Miss A. and her friends think we have not; and we are censured for our neglect.

Now, gentlemen, as you are best qualified to interpret your own instrument, I have to ask in behalf of Dr. PARISH and myself, your opinion, whether we have, or have not, fairly and honourably complied with your Award, according to your true intent and meaning; and if not, to state wherein we have been deficient. In order to enable you to do this, I will faithfully state to you what we have done.

A few days after I had received your Award, having consulted some of my legal and other friends, as to its meaning, wishing promptly and uprightly to comply with it, Mr. E. a particular friend of Miss ADAMS, happening to be at my house, and intending to call on his friend Miss A. I improved the opportunity by him to make to her the "*reasonable offers of compromise*" recommended in your Award. Accordingly, I requested Mr. E. to propose to Miss A. to meet me either alone, or in company with some mutual friend, or friends, and amicably to explain and settle all past differences between us, and make arrangements as to our future course of proceedings in reference to our respective publications. On the 2d of June, 1809, Mr. E. called on Miss A. and de-

livered my message. She declined the proposed interview, without assigning any reasons that were mentioned to me. When I expressed to Mr. E. my surprise and regret at her refusal to accede to a proposal so reasonable, and made too in express accordance with your advice, Mr. E. concerned lest he had not been sufficiently explicit in delivering the message, offered to go and see her again on the subject. Accordingly, for this purpose, he delayed returning home till next day, when he called on her a second time, and not finding her at home, left at her lodgings the following note. [Mr. E's note to Miss A. p. 106.]

This Note, as also the verbal message, she thought proper to treat with *entire neglect*. Her reasons for this neglect were not made known to me, till *three years and a half* afterward, when, in her letter of Dec. 4th, 1812, she condescended to state them. [See this letter, p. 119.]

After waiting about three weeks, from the time Mr. E. called on Miss A. and left the Note, I addressed the last of my queries to you, with a view to obtain your opinion, whether or not I had complied with your award. On receiving your reply, I considered the controversy as terminated, and had no intimation to the contrary from Miss A. her agent, or any one else; till about *five months* after, I received the following letter from F. D. CHANNING, Esq. [See p. 112. and my reply, p. 113.]

Here the business rested, till about Oct. last, when I was informed by a friend, that Miss A. was circulating a sketch of her life, [the letter to Mr. SHAW,] drawn up by her at the request of some of her friends, in which she had brought up the subject of the preceding controversy in a light, which criminated me as having occasioned her chief troubles in life, and that this was probably to be published. I wrote Mr. BATES, knowing that Miss A. was on a visit at Dedham, requesting that he would procure me the MS. of this work, or examine it himself, and inform me of its contents. The contents of my letter were communicated to Miss A. by Mr. BATES, which produced a letter from Miss A. to Mr. B. of which the following is an extract. [See it p. 117. and the following correspondence with Miss A. which was all submitted to the Referees.]

With the following clause in my letter, of Nov. 30th, "the *officiousness* of some persons, who, whatever may have been their professions, have been *really friendly* to neither of us," Miss A. seems highly offended, and makes it the ground of a discontinuance of all further correspondence, *written or verbal*, on the subject. I ask, whether this offensive expression is not fully justified by the following concluding clause in your Award, "harsh expressions" whose "irritating tendency must be admitted, and *they may have impeded a friendly and satisfactory accommodation* between the parties."

I add, that since your Award was given, our Compendious History of New-England has not been reprinted; a great part of

the edition is still on hand,* and no efforts have been made by either of the authors, to promote the sale. I would further observe, that I have always felt, and now feel, a disposition, not only to do justice to Miss A, to respect her rights, but to be *generous* to her ; provided she, or rather her advocates, would place me in a situation to do it in a manner consistent with my honour, or a respect for my own character.

You will, gentlemen, confer on me a particular favour, under existing circumstances, if you will give me your opinion in writing, after examining the papers accompanying this, whether or not I have honourably and uprightly complied with your Award, on my part ; and whether any thing remains to be done by me ; and if any thing, what ? in order *fully* to answer your intentions, as expressed in your Award. I am, gentlemen, with much respect, your obedient servant,

J. MORSE.

Hon. JUDGE DAWES.

Hon. JUDGE DAVIS.

Hon. SAMUEL DEXTER.

REPLY OF THE REFEREES TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, APRIL 27, 1813.

Sir,

We have attended to your request under date of the 17th March last, respecting your unfortunate misunderstanding with Miss HANNAH ADAMS. On mature deliberation, we decline giving our opinion on the question whether you and Dr. PARISH have done what was incumbent on you by our Award. This has never been *mutually* submitted to us ; and if it were so, another hearing of the parties might be necessary, to which we should not readily assent. You seem to intimate some doubt as to the *meaning* of our Award. We cannot perceive that it is difficult to be understood, but if it is so, it arose from our desire to express our opinion in a manner that could not wound the feelings of you and your friend Dr. PARISH. We have made one attempt to explain it, and will now make another effort to render it as incapable of being misunderstood, as the nature of language permits. We did mean to say, that Doctors MORSE and PARISH equitably owed to Miss ADAMS a substantial and valuable recompense for their interference with her work. We did not estimate the amount, because we did not know how much she had suffered. We did not say it should be in money, because we thought it possible that an arrangement as to the sale of the books, and the disposition of the proceeds, might be agreed on by the parties, more satisfactory and beneficial. The form of compensation, as well as the amount, we left for the parties to adjust.

We regret that the question is now asked, whether "the offensive expression" in Doctor MORSE's letter to Miss ADAMS

* Two thousand copies of it were burnt in the great fire at Newburyport,

of 30th Nov. last is not fully justified, by the concluding sentence of our Award. In our opinion it is not so justified. We think it very clear that the Award cannot justify a charge of "officiousness" and of making professions without being "really friendly to either party," because we expressly attribute "the harsh expressions" there mentioned to "a generous sympathy." These words perhaps escaped your eye, as they are omitted in quoting the sentence. In our answers of 3d July, 1809, to your questions, we also say, that we made the suggestion as "an apology for past inattention to Miss ADAMS's reasonable claims and expectations." Thus we made no charge of bad motives against any one, but intimated an excuse for you and Doctor PARISH. It was hardly to be expected, that this would be converted into a weapon of offence.

We have been thus plain, to avoid a possibility of being misunderstood, and request it may not be attributed to want of the sincere respect and esteem with which we are, your obedient friends,

THOMAS DAWES.
SAMUEL DEXTER.
JOHN DAVIS.

This controversy, I now found, had *determinately* received a new form. All previous questions and complaints were to be resolved into the *Award*. This was in future to be the bone of contention. What it *meant*, what *obligations* it laid Dr. P. and myself under to Miss A. were of course become questions, important and necessary, to be precisely determined.* All that I had done to ascertain its meaning, and to fulfil its requisitions, I perceived was to pass for nothing, in the view of my adversaries. I found also, with much regret and concern, that the course which the Referees saw fit to adopt, was so capable of being construed in a way to support and countenance them in their construction of

* While preparing this pamphlet for the press, particularly the part which relates to this Award, and the different meanings which have been given to it, I was forcibly struck with the following acute and correct remarks of the "Temperate Examiner" of Mr. DEXTER's Creed, &c. [See No. II. of those Essays.] I would not be understood, however, as applying the last paragraph to the Referees, in any way to impeach their characters. In making their Award originally, I doubt not their views were friendly to both parties. It has, however, proved a serious "misfortune" to all parties concerned, that they should have expressed themselves in such a manner as to leave doubts on the minds of the persons addressed."

"In examining the sentiments or the productions of any man, it is not only the most natural, but the fairest course to inquire first, what was the real meaning of the author, and what were his intentions and objects.

"It is certainly a misfortune, when a man with honourable views expresses himself in such a manner, as to leave doubts in the minds of those to whom he addresses himself, what his real meaning and what his objects are.

"The most charitable construction that you can possibly put upon a paper so ambiguous, is, that the writer had not clear conceptions of his subject. If, however, his talents and character be such as to oblige you to reject this charitable conclusion, you are compelled to believe that the ambiguity and confusion of ideas were intentional."

the Award. Accordingly, after an informal and incidental conversation with one of the Referees, from whom I learned that they had misconceived my design in writing them so repeatedly on the subject of their Award, and that *he himself* had wholly, at the hearing, mistaken some important points in the controversy, I addressed to them the following letter, which I enclosed in the envelope, that is prefixed.

DR. MORSE TO THE REFEREES. *Envelope.*

CHARLESTOWN, AUG. 23, 1813.

Gentlemen,

The enclosed communication, in reply to yours of the 27th of April last, is submitted to your perusal, for the purpose *merely* of informing you, in what light the subject, of which it treats, is viewed, in its origin and progress, by myself and some of my judicious friends, who know and approve its contents. You have liberty to keep, or return it, as you shall think proper. Since completing it, from a re-perusal of your last communication, and the suggestions of a discerning and judicious friend, I have received a different idea of your meaning, from that which I had before received from reading it, which has led me to change my contemplated course of proceeding. If I rightly understand your meaning, (possibly I do not) you admit that Dr. P. and myself *may have* honourably made Miss A. the reasonable offers of compromise, which you required of us; and though she has not seen fit to accept these offers, yet we *may*, in your opinion, *have satisfactorily discharged our duty*. You at least say nothing inconsistent with such a construction of your communication. But, gentlemen, to remove all doubt, as to our disposition, and fair and persevering endeavours to bring this controversy to a just and amicable issue, and if possible to effect it, notwithstanding the ill success of all our former attempts, I have prepared and forwarded to Miss A. a letter, of which I enclose you a copy.

Whether she will accede to this proposal or not, remains to be known. I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient friend and servant,

J. MORSE.

DR. MORSE TO THE REFEREES.

CHARLESTOWN, AUG. 11, 1813.

Gentlemen,

A reply to your last communication of April 27th, has from ill health and other circumstances been unavoidably delayed till this time. I am sorry to be obliged to continue a correspondence, which to us all is unpleasant and painful, but which a due regard to my own character renders necessary, in existing circumstances.

I am informed that you, gentlemen, at least some of you, have imbibed the opinion, that my repeated applications to you for an explanation of your Award have been *captious*: that I am not very solicitous to understand it, and that I willingly avail myself of a *pretended obscurity*, to evade an honourable fulfilment of it. This information, be assured, deeply wounds my feelings. Nothing can be more unfounded and incorrect, than such an opinion.

That your Award is *obscure*, and liable to widely different constructions, is sufficiently evident from the single fact, that each party in the controversy, and their respective friends, have strenuously maintained that your decision was in its own favour. I have two *written* opinions, one on each side, which go to prove this fact.

From the moment I received your Award, I have honestly and faithfully endeavoured, in the use of all the helps I could command, to understand your meaning; and have assiduously, uprightly, and perseveringly endeavoured *exactly* to regard it, according to its true intent. If I have failed, the failure must be ascribed to an involuntary ignorance, on my part, of your requirements, or to the refusal of reasonable and repeated offers of compromise, on the part of Miss A. Your Award, indeed, does not require Dr. P. and myself, *absolutely* to make, in all events, a compromise with Miss ADAMS; but only to make her "*reasonable offers of compromise*;" and such offers have been often repeated by us, and as often refused by her. Is there to be no end to our overtures? You have been asked, gentlemen, whether the offers of compromise, which have been made, satisfy your Award? You decline an answer.

Possibly you may conceive, that the overture of Mr. HIGGINSON, made by his attorney, the late F. D. CHANNING, Esq. in his letter to me, of Oct. 1809, should have been regarded by us. But a recurrence to the closing sentence of your Award, I apprehend, will satisfy you; that we were perfectly justified in considering and treating his letter, as an *officious* interference on the part of Mr. HIGGINSON, altogether unauthorized; because you say, expressly, that his former conduct in this very business, "*may have impeded a friendly and satisfactory accommodation between the parties.*" Certainly, after saying this, after representing Mr. H. as having probably prevented a *friendly* accommodation between the parties, you could not have intended, if you wished us to settle our differences, of which there can be no doubt, that he should be the manager of a "*compromise*," for this purpose.

Till I received your last communication, gentlemen, which I confess greatly surprised me, nor less my friends, I truly never once had the idea, that, in your Award, you "*meant to say*," that Dr. PARISH and myself "*equitably owed to Miss ADAMS a substantial and valuable RECOMPENSE for our interference with her work.*" Of very many of our most intelligent friends, both legal

and clerical, both near and distant, who have examined your Award with care, not one has found in it, as I have reason to believe from their declarations, any clause or expression, that gave them such an idea of your meaning. Since receiving your last communication, several of my friends, with myself, have again carefully read over your Award, in reference to this very point, and still we have been unable to find in it the terms which convey, on fair construction, the meaning you have given it. Your last communication, therefore, is, in my view, a *new Award*. It declares Dr. P. and myself to be under obligations, which we never before conceived ourselves to be under. You plainly enough intimate, that these obligations are not small. We "equitably owe," you say, "a *substantial and valuable recompense*." These expressions would seem to imply, that the sufferings which Miss A. had sustained from our supposed interference with her work, in your view, must have been great, and that we owed her a *very considerable* recompense. And yet in your next sentence, you acknowledge, you "did not know *how much* she had suffered." How then, it may be asked, could you know that she had suffered so much, as to entitle her, in equity, to a "substantial and valuable recompense" from us?

From a passage in your Award, I was led to suppose, that you had no certain evidence before you, that she had, in fact, suffered *at all* from our interference; that the evidence went only to show, that she *might* have suffered: but whether or not she had in fact suffered, and if she had, how much, was left to the *parties* to ascertain and settle by amicable "*compromise, by adjustment by mutual concessions*."* The passage I refer to follows. After recommending a "compromise," you say, "We have *not sufficient information of facts* to enable us to say what ought to be the terms of such compromise. The *undefined nature* of the claims, which we have suggested, may produce *honest diversity of sentiment*, and should prompt to a candid judgment on the subject. The transaction, like many other moral concerns, may take its *true character* from circumstances, views and motives, *not appearing in evidence*, and which may scarcely admit of a distinct exhibition." Can it be correct, gentlemen, on so vague, indefinite, and unsubstantial a foundation, to give a *positive* opinion, that we "equitably owe Miss A. a *substantial and valuable* recompense?" Are we to be doomed by our judges to satisfy an "undefined claim," which rests on ground, that may "produce *honest diversity of sentiment*," and the value and magnitude of which is to be determined by the parties, between themselves, "from circumstances, views and motives, *not appearing in evidence* before the Referees, and which may scarcely admit of a distinct exhibition?" How would it be possible for any person to defend himself against such a claim as this; or, if admitted to be just, to satisfy it?

* So Walker defines the word.

Suppose, gentlemen, you could now receive "sufficient information of facts to enable you to form a correct and definite opinion of the nature of this transaction, and the "circumstances, views, and motives," which give it character could be made to appear in evidence before you, and it should be found that there is no *substantial* ground of complaint, or recompense; (and all this is not only supposeable, but very possible, and not improbable from the very terms of your Award, for you allow that the claim is of a nature to admit of *honest diversity of sentiment*, and many who know *all* the circumstances of this transaction believe that Miss A. has no substantial ground of complaint, and that she has sustained no damage from our publication;) in such circumstances, where is the consistency of your adjudging *positively*, that we "equitably owe a substantial recompense?" Have we not a right to complain, that we are *positively* charged with having done an injury, for which we owe a "valuable recompense," when it is yet admitted by our judges themselves, that it is very uncertain, whether we have done any damage for which we are bound, in honour or equity, to make indemnification?

Notwithstanding your effort, gentlemen, to render your Award "as incapable of being misunderstood, as the nature of language permits," you must forgive me, if I still think your language indefinite and vague, and such as different readers might very innocently interpret very differently. The *recompense* we are adjudged equitably to owe Miss A. should no doubt be in proportion to the injury she has sustained. The magnitude of this injury must obviously be first ascertained, before it can be known what in equity would be a "*substantial* and *valuable* compensation" for it. Such compensation might prove in this case to be *one cent*, or any sum above that, according to the degree of damage sustained. But you say, "We did not estimate the amount" of the recompense, "*because we did not know how much she had suffered.*" Now it has been shown, that it is not certain, even in your own opinion, that she has suffered *any damage* from us, for which we are bound in honour and justice to make her a compensation. If you are satisfied, that she has sustained such damage, you gentlemen are certainly better competent to ascertain its amount, and to say in what form it shall be given, than any other persons; for the facts and circumstances of the case, which are capable of exhibition, have been laid before you. And if, after all, *you* cannot tell how much she has suffered, who can? If in your opinion she has actually suffered from us, we have certainly a right to ask of you, as our judges, how? wherein? in what particulars? and to what amount? Whether in her reputation or property, for we were charged with having injured her in both; else how can we know what kind, and what amount of recompense we owe?

As you have adjudged a recompense, conditionally indeed, to Miss A. we think we have a just claim on you, gentlemen,

as Referees and Judges, to know specifically, in order to regulate our future conduct, whether we owe this recompense to Miss A. because we have interfered with her 8vo. work published in 1799, or with her Abridgment published in 1805. If the latter, whether we owe her this recompense, because, as you believed, we wrote and published our work with the knowledge that Miss A. contemplated, and was actually engaged in preparing, a work of the same kind, with which we knew, or, had we duly reflected, we might have known, that ours must interfere; or solely on account of the interference of our 2d edition, published in 1807. Your Award must be grounded on one or other, or all these interferences. We wish to know, as precisely as you can state, where our offence lies; for from the *general* and indefinite terms in which your Award is expressed, we are utterly unable to determine. I am the more solicitous on this point, from a conviction, arising from the tenor of your Award, and your subsequent explanations of it, and some other circumstances, that your Award of recompense has been founded on a very material misapprehension of facts, probably from having considered statements made by Mr. HIGGINSON, in behalf of Miss A. as correct and conceded by us, which on our part were not conceded, but denied. On either, and all the grounds above stated, I feel entire confidence, that we are able completely to vindicate ourselves against the charge of damage to Miss A's interest, to the value of a single cent. The charge of injury, both as to reputation and interest, might with far greater propriety and truth, come from *us*, in regard to this very extraordinary transaction.

If it should appear that your Award was made upon a *misapprehension* of material facts in the case, (as would by no means be strange, considering the very peculiar and unfavourable circumstances, in which the parties exhibited the complex case, and the evidence to support the facts relating to it,) and subsequent explanations have proceeded upon the same unsubstantial ground, I presume, gentlemen, you will readily, for your own sakes, as well as ours, *review* your Award, and promptly to do us the justice to correct an error, if it be such, so material to the reputation of Dr. P. and myself; and that you will not for a moment suffer an unjust imputation to rest on our characters, through your instrumentality. If a rehearing, in your view be requisite, I will not object to it.

Another passage in your last communication, claims notice. After stating that you did not estimate the amount of recompense due Miss A. because you did not know how much she had suffered; you add, "we did not say it should be in money, because we thought it possible, that an arrangement, as to the sale of the books, and the disposition of the proceeds, might be agreed on by the parties more satisfactory and beneficial. The *form* of compensation, as well as the *amount*, we left for the parties to adjust."

Is not this, gentlemen, to all intents and purposes, referring back to the parties, the main points which they had submitted to your decision? Were you not, moreover, in my last communication, explicitly and particularly informed, that efforts had been made repeatedly, urgently, and perseveringly, on our part, to "adjust" this affair in the very manner required by your Award, as you now explain it, but without effect? That the other party had declined, and finally absolutely refused to act? Why require of us an impossibility? Were not these repeated and "*reasonable offers of compromise*," on our part, in the manner in which they were made, a literal fulfilment of your Award, and that too, as you now explain it? Why then "decline giving an opinion," when asked, to this effect, and which would have ended the controversy? While you were giving an opinion, in answer to my question, you do not say, that any thing remains incumbent on Dr. P. and myself, by your Award, that we have omitted; and yet you *seem* willing to have it so understood; and nine persons in ten, who should read your last communication, would understand you to mean, that we had not fulfilled your Award; that something, and that too of importance, remained for us to do. And yet a critical reader, informed as you have been, of what we had done, would perceive that we had actually done every thing which your Award, with all your explanations of it, requires us to do; which in fact is no more than this, that we should make Miss A. "*reasonable offers of compromise*," for a supposed damage, which she may have sustained, by our interference in the sale of her work; or that we should endeavour to "adjust" with her "*the form and the amount of compensation*," should it be found, after discussion, that we equitably owed her any, in consequence of such supposed interference. Now all this we have done with upright, honourable, and friendly dispositions, and sincere desires to have an unhappy *misunderstanding* (for this is all that has ever existed) amicably and honourably terminated. You do not say that we have not done all this; nor do you appear willing to say that we have; but have left the matter in a state so equivocal, as settles nothing; and of course the ground of controversy, after all the pains we have taken to remove it, remains as it was.

If this inexplicit and equivocal manner of expressing your opinion, has arisen from a desire in you, gentlemen, "not to wound the feelings of Dr. P. and myself," we certainly owe you our thanks for your kind intentions; but, be assured, the utmost *explicitness* on your part, in expressing your opinion, could not have wounded half so deeply, as the language you have used. If we had done a wrong, of which we were not conscious, we wished to know it, that we might promptly and honourably repair it. If we had not, we wished you to vindicate us against the slanderous charge of having done it, and done it too under aggravating circumstances. As we understand your Award, you have done neither the one nor the other.

I have one other remark to make in this connection. You refer it to the *parties* to adjust their differences, knowing too, that one of the parties had utterly refused to act. I forbear to speak, as I might, of the hardness, I had almost said cruelty, of subjecting us to the *necessity* of lying under the imputation of neglect and injustice, in not fulfilling your Award, of refusing to compensate a wrong done to an indigent and deserving *woman*, an imputation most abhorrent to our feelings, and wounding to our reputation. Admit, what I presume, judging from Miss A's last letter to me, she will never consent shall take place, that the parties should agree, after all, to make the attempt to adjust their differences, is it probable, that they could satisfactorily decide on what you, gentlemen, after a full examination, denominate an "*undefined claim*," which from its nature "may produce *honest diversity of sentiment*?" The best result we could promise ourselves from such an attempt, would be to agree to refer the point in question to some third person, or persons, before whom the same documents and arguments must be exhibited by the parties, which were exhibited before you, gentlemen; and should their Award resemble yours, we might repeat the round without end, and our controversy never terminate.

This course might gratify those in this region "who at the least are not partial to me,"* and who take occasion to use this *unsettled* affair publicly,† as well as more privately, to assail my character; but is it not at direct variance with the charity of the Gospel?

You cannot be ignorant, or insensible, gentlemen, of the perplexing trials, and serious injuries, to which I have been subjected, for the last eight years, from the use that has been made of this affair; an affair, which, when stripped of its false colourings, and presented simply, according to truth, as it must be at a convenient time, will, I doubt not, astonish those who have been deceived by it into prejudices against me, and confound their overacting deceivers. Of so serious importance has this affair now become, from the use that has been made of it, and the characters who condescend to use it, that a sketch of its origin and progress becomes proper, for your information. Little things become important, when men of importance will submit to make them so.

The publication of the "*Compendious History of New-England*," in the autumn of 1804, in its origin and design, was among the most innocent and laudable transactions of my life. The perversion of this transaction *alone* has given it its wounding influence. This perversion, prompted by well known public preceding occurrences, commenced in the summer of 1805, in a gross, palpable, and scandalous *falsehood*, which was circulated indus-

* See Mr. Oskanning's letter, Oct. 30, 1809.

† See the General Repository and Review, No. vi. p. 387. and vii. p. 218.—221. See also the APPENDIX to this Pamphlet.

triously, and with pernicious effect, in the most respectable circles in this neighbourhood. Though immediately contradicted by Miss ADAMS herself, in a letter to Dr. HOLMES, and often afterward by myself and others, it continued in a sort of smothered circulation *as true*, in the same circles, till the autumn of 1808, with the knowledge, at least, if not by the active exertions, of Mr. STEPHEN HIGGINSON, Jun. with whom I was then engaged in a controversy, which he had very foolishly originated, on another subject. This other subject of difference, together with this respecting Miss A. were subsequently by agreement between Mr. H. and myself referred to your decision. At the reference, Judge DAWES declined acting on the former subject, on account of his connection with one of the families concerned.* The reference originated in this way. During a correspondence with Mr. HIGGINSON, on the subject above alluded to, on hearing that he was reviving and circulating this affair of Miss A. (which I had repeatedly and fully, and as I supposed satisfactorily, explained to him) I addressed to him a letter (Dec. 8th, 1808,) on the subject, to which, feeling indignant at his unworthy conduct, I subjoined the following Postscript.

"I am not conscious of having intentionally done any thing in reference to Miss H. ADAMS, incompatible with the *strictest honour, justice, or friendship*; any thing that has impaired, or will impair, her interest. If she thinks otherwise, let her state her wrongs; or if she does not sufficiently feel them, do you state them for her in writing, and I pledge myself to redress them, to the satisfaction of Judge DAVIS, Mr. (W. E.) CHANNING, and Mr. JOSIAH SALISBURY." Mr. H. accepted this proposal, and thus originated our reference, which was not intended or expected, on my part, to have been made a *formal business*, but merely a friendly, short conference of an hour or two, for the purpose of explaining, and amicably *terminating*, a frivolous misunderstanding, which had been ingeniously dressed up and associated, with a view to injure my character. Mr. H. objected to Mr. SALISBURY, as a Referee, on account of relationship; and Mr. CHANNING declined accepting his appointment. In a letter to Mr. H. (Feb. 4th, 1809.) I sent him the names of the following gentlemen, from whom he might supply the places of Mr. CHANNING and Mr. SALISBURY, viz. Judge DAWES, S. DEXTER, J. C. JONES, S. H. WALLEY, S. CODMAN, B. JOY, D. D. RODGERS, Esquires, and Rev. Mr. BATES," adding, "If none in this list is agreeable to you, please to send me a list of names." He selected the two gentlemen first named. You will perceive by his statement in what manner "the Referees were *all of my choosing*," as I have often been reminded by Miss ADAMS, and her friends.

* This affair has since been referred to other gentlemen. I enclose you the result of their investigation.

As the origin of this reference has been misunderstood, and often misrepresented, I have thought proper to state it correctly from our original letters. It was an appeal to you, gentlemen, with full confidence in your discernment and integrity, to protect my character against the furious, obstinate, and groundless attacks of Mr. HIGGINSON. Accordingly, when I appeared before you, I fully expected that you would have heard, and finally settled our whole controversy; and accordingly, had made my arrangements to exhibit in order before you all the grounds of it, in full confidence that you would find them all frivolous in the extreme, of a nature in no degree to injure my character, and as reflecting nothing but disgrace on those, who were using such means to impair my influence and usefulness. You will judge, therefore, of my disappointment, my regret and surprise, gentlemen, when, by the refusal of one of the Referees (I mean not to charge the gentleman with unfairness) to act on one of the main points in the controversy, the arrangements I had made for my defence were all deranged, and I compelled at the moment, and with great disadvantage, to vindicate myself against one of the charges only; and that too so connected with the others, as that it could not, without injury to myself, be separated from the others. This determination to hear only a part of our controversy, led the Referees to pursue a course (I do not say that it was designedly done, I trust it was not) by which Mr. HIGGINSON'S conduct has been kept out of view, and he effectually screened from censure, (except indeed in an indirect and *softened* reproof for his indiscreet zeal and harshness,) and to give an Award, which, in spite of all our efforts to understand and fulfil its requirements, has been used by Mr. H. and others, his supporters, with the construction they have been permitted to put upon it, to fix his injurious charges upon me. I applied to you, gentlemen, to disarm my busy adversary of his weapons, which were ingeniously fabricated from groundless prejudices, and gross falsehoods. You have only, however unintentionally, sharpened them for his use, and thus enabled him to inflict more deadly wounds.

In these circumstances, gentlemen, which I have thought it necessary thus fully and frankly to state to you, have I not reason to complain of your *want of explicitness*, either in vindicating Dr. P. and myself, against the injurious charges which are industriously and extensively circulated, and which are made the ground of malignant attacks on me in some of our periodical works,* and even before the Legislature;† or in stating so definitely and plainly any ground or colour for these charges, which you may think exists, and the actual amount of damage sustained through our interference, and the form in which such supposed damage shall be compensated, as shall enable us *honourably* (as we have ever been

* The Anthology and Repository. See Appendix.

† By Edmund Dwight, Esq. See p. 115.

disposed to do) to fulfil your requirements, to discharge what you may consider our duty, and thus stop the circulation, as far as this will do it, of the reproaches which are now attempted to be fixed on our characters. What I now ask, gentlemen, is, that you would, (with as little delay as possible) say *explicitly*, whether, in view of this whole affair, in your opinion, Dr. P. and myself do *now* equitably owe Miss ADAMS a substantial and valuable compensation for our supposed interference with her work; if so, to what *amount*, and in what *form* it shall be made; and particularly, that you would state *specifically*, the damage or suffering, for which such compensation shall have been adjudged. We would not for a moment willingly lie under the imputation of *injustice*, and especially to one in Miss A's circumstances. Had we believed, that we had *unintentionally*, (*intentionally* we knew we had not,) impaired her interest, by the publication of our work; or had we supposed from your Award, that *you* were of this opinion, and that we owed her a valuable compensation, be assured we should not have delayed to make it, till this period. I speak it not boastingly, gentlemen, but in self defence, when I say, that in the love and practice of justice and benevolence, I yield not to my open accuser, nor to any of his secret abettors; nor in these respects do I fear a fair comparison of our past lives.

In a conversation with Mr. HIGGINSON on the subject of Miss A's sufferings, which he has misrepresented in one of his statements, communicated at the hearing, I well remember *offering* to *double* any subscription, in a way of *charity*, he or any of his friends would make for her benefit, but not a cent would I give on the score of *justice*, as I knew I had not injured her in her property.*

The manner in which this *baseless* affair has been "got up," and for what purpose, and how ingeniously it has been managed, and kept alive to accomplish its object, are now well known to some gentlemen, and are becoming more extensively known. It has nearly run its course, and is now fast losing its power to injure, other than those, who have disgracefully condescended to use it for purposes, which must one day fill them with shame and remorse. To resist this *combination* to *destroy* my character and influence,† has cost me much time, and labour, and health, and, at one time, well nigh my life. I regret the necessity that has been imposed upon me to make these sacrifices. But they had an object, worthy of them, the preservation of my reputation. Had the *known* and principal propagator of these slanders, been alone concerned, had he not been countenanced and supported in their propagation, by those who have had influence to give them a wounding effect, they would have given me little uneasiness, because they could have had but a feeble, temporary,

* See p. 64, 65.

† The charges which Mr. HIGGINSON has *boldly*, publicly, and perseveringly circulated concerning me, go clearly all this length.

and limited effect ; they would have soon perished by their own violence. But when a concealed *corps de reserve* were giving him support, and courage, and influence, I was constrained, in justice to myself, to my family and friends, and to my professional character especially, to act as I have done, on the *defensive*. Nor, gentlemen, can I cease to act in repelling and silencing these slanderous charges, till all shall have been done, that is necessary on my part, to draw from my accusers suitable acknowledgments ; or to expose their unworthy conduct to the indignation of the public.

I cannot close this letter without doing an act of justice to Miss ADAMS. I believe her first dissatisfaction and complaints at our supposed interference with her works, arose entirely from a *misapprehension* of our design ; and had she complained to me in the first instance, she would have found, that there existed no cause of complaint, and been easily satisfied, that I was incapable of interfering with her rights or interest, or of diminishing her literary reputation ; all which I had been for years in the habit of promoting. But unfortunately, her complaints were first made to those, "who at the least were not partial to me," and who were willing, in the then existing state of things, to use them to my disadvantage. For this purpose, these unkind feelings, generated in the mind of Miss A. by a misapprehension of facts, were by various means cherished ; the proper methods of removing them avoided, and assiduously guarded against by her advisers ; till at length she has been wrought up to a full persuasion, that I am hostile to her reputation and to her interests, than which nothing can be more untrue.

In these circumstances, I am not disposed to ascribe the evils which have grown out of this misunderstanding, to Miss A. other than as she has been made the *instrument* of them.* They are to be ascribed, without doubt, to her bad advisers ; to those, who, in the deep interest they have taken in this business, have been prompted as much, to say the least, by a spirit of hostility toward me, as by benevolent feelings toward her. I have facts to show, gentlemen, that this view of the subject is not merely conjectural, but founded in truth.

I have, for these reasons, ever considered this controversy, not as a controversy with Miss A. (between whom and myself there never would have existed any differences, but for the causes I have just stated) but with a *religious party*, some of whose leaders have thought fit to use the pretended grounds of it, as a weapon of warfare against me.

The facts and observations contained in this letter will furnish you, gentlemen, with the reasons of its great length ; and also with my apology for taking up so much of your time. I trust you will not consider the plainness I have used as indicating any want of

* When this letter was written, I had not seen Miss A's letter to Mr. Shaw.

respect on my part. My meaning is wide from any thing of this kind. Your Award, and your subsequent communications, the last particularly, have placed me in a most painful and trying situation. I have endeavoured frankly to express myself in language suited to such a situation. You will easily forgive me, if I have erred, knowing as you do, how long and how sincerely I have respected your characters; the confidence I must have had in you, when I named you, with others, for my judges; the cheerfulness with which I intrusted my assailed character, as it were, to your keeping; and assured of the sincerity with which I reciprocate the feelings you have expressed, by subscribing myself "with sincere respect and esteem, Your obedient friend,"

J. MORSE.

In the mean time, I prepared to meet my adversaries on the *new ground* which they had taken, and to parry the weapons which they were now beginning to wield against me, through the influence which they *conceived* they had derived from the Referees, with considerable effect. The methods I adopted for this purpose, were two;

1. I obtained the opinions, verbal and written, of able and impartial men, as to the meaning and the requisitions of the Award, in such number, as I deemed sufficient to satisfy, not only my own mind, but also the public.

2. In consequence of the last communication from the Referees, I made one further attempt to adjust this controversy with Miss A. by a direct application to herself. To this last measure, I was advised by one of the Referees, who suggested also the manner in which it was afterward pursued. He added, that if this course should be pursued, and "prove ineffectual, the *world* would espouse my cause, and say it was enough."

Accordingly, in pursuance of the first method adopted, I submitted the Award, and all which had been done to fulfil it, to a number (seven gentlemen) of discreet and competent judges, who met for the express purpose, and spent together the time requisite to obtain a *full view* of the subject, and they gave it as their united opinion, that I was honourably exonerated from all obligations laid upon me by the Award; that I had discharged my *whole duty* in regard to this vexatious business; and strongly advised, that I should give myself no further concern about it, and leave my adversaries to do their worst.

In addition to this, I obtained the following opinions, in writing. Dr. DWIGHT gave his in view of the Award, and of all the subsequent documents on the subject, except the *last* communication from the Referees, of Oct. 22, 1813, which had not at the time been received. The two gentlemen, whose opinions are next in order, saw only the *Award* of May 11, 1809, and knew not the *names* of the Referees.

REV. DR. DWIGHT'S OPINION OF THE AWARD.

Dear Sir,

In answer to your request, that I would give you my opinion concerning the nature and extent of the obligations, under which you and Dr. PARISH have been brought by an Award, dated Boston, May 11, 1809, and signed by Mess'rs DAVES, DAVIS, and DEXTER, permit me to observe,

1. The Referees above named, have decided, that you and Dr. PARISH "*have not violated any right, which any judicatory, legal or equitable, is competent to enforce.*"

2. Still, these gentlemen plainly declare, that in their opinion Miss ADAMS "was entitled to respect and attention" from you and Dr. PARISH, in the existing circumstances.

The nature and extent of this respect and attention are explained, so far as they are explained at all, in the following phraseology: "*some amicable overtures were due to Miss Adams for satisfying her undefined claims;*" that is, before your *Compendious History* should be published: and "*the obligations, &c.*" (that is, these obligations) "*are still in force; and should restrain Dr. MORSE and Dr. PARISH from bringing their Compendious History into competition with Miss ADAMS's Summary and Abridgment, without previous reasonable offers of compromise with her.*"

3. The views, which the Referees formed of the respect and attention, mentioned above, and thus far explained, are declared by themselves: "*We have not,*" say the gentlemen, "*sufficient information of facts to enable us to say what ought to be the terms of such compromise. The undefined nature of the claims, which we have suggested, may produce honest diversity of sentiment, &c.*"

4. On these facts I remark,

First, That the cause was mutually submitted to the decision of these three gentlemen, experienced, and learned, in the discussion, and adjudication, of causes; and holding, deservedly, high reputation in their professional employments. It was a case of deep interest, which had long occupied the tongue, and the pen. Ample time was given to the parties to make all the preparation in their power. It is reasonably presumed, therefore, that all the grounds of judging, and all the existing evidence, were produced at the trial. If then, these able judges found, at the close, Miss ADAMS's claims *undefined*; they are necessarily believed to be, in their nature, *undefinable*.

Secondly, If we except the declaration, that Dr. MORSE and Dr. PARISH ought to have been restrained from publishing their book until after reasonable offers of compromise had been made by them to Miss ADAMS; the nature and extent of the attention and respect, due from them to Miss A. are left by the Referees equally *undefined with Miss A's claims*. The exception, mention-

ed here, is also, no less undefined in its import, because no terms can be more absolutely indefinite, than "*reasonable offers of compromise.*"

Thirdly, The Award, of course, lays *Drs. M. and P. under no definite or definable obligation, of any sort to Miss A.* All which it enjoins, is a kind, generous, polite treatment of Miss A. to be regulated merely by their own judgment, and any existing circumstances. In other words, they are required to treat Miss A. kindly, a duty owed to her by all her acquaintance.

Fourthly, These conclusions are not affected by the explanation, given of their Award by these gentlemen, near *four years* afterward. The distance of time was too great to allow the Referees to retain a distinct, and comprehensive view of the subject, and particularly of the evidence.

The opinion of the Referees, expressed in the Award, is *contradictory* to this explanation.

The legislator is not at liberty to interpret his acts.

The Award is before the public; and every man has an unquestionable right to construe it according to the proper import of the language. The Referees could not, *at the time of trial*, come to an opinion of the same nature; as they sufficiently declare; four years afterward, their competency was still less; because the merits of the cause, and the evidence, were both, less in their possession.

When they were requested, soon after the trial, by Doctor M. to explain their Award, they chose merely to refer him to the Award itself, as being sufficiently explicit. In this conduct they barred themselves from future and distant explanations.

For these reasons the explanation is of no validity.

With these things in view, it is my opinion, that *Drs. M. and P.* are by this Award placed under *no obligations* to make any overtures to Miss A. besides those, which they have already made.

T. DWIGHT.

The following is the opinion of a gentleman, who is a Judge in the highest court of law in the State where he resides.

SEPT. 1, 1813.

Dear Sir,

I have read an Award on a controversy between Miss ADAMS, and Drs. MORSE and PARISH, in regard to which you request my opinion, as to what should be done on the part of Drs. MORSE and PARISH, as an honourable and faithful compliance with its requirements.

From the terms of the Award I am not surprised that you seek advice; and I think I might with propriety return you this short answer; *Its uncertainty alone will warrant the opinion, THAT NOTHING IS REQUIRED BY IT.*

But it admits of a further answer.

The arbitrators expressly find, that Drs. MORSE and PARISH "have not violated any right, which any judicatory, legal or equitable, is competent to enforce." Yet they seem to suppose there are certain *undefined claims*, which ought to be compromised; "*the undefined nature of which may produce honest diversity of sentiment*:" and they find further, "that they have not sufficient information of facts to enable them to say what ought to be the terms of such compromise."

If they could not specify the terms on the evidence before them, I certainly cannot upon their Award. With much respect and esteem, Your humble servant, &c.

REV. DR. MORSE.

The following is the opinion of a gentleman, who is at the head of the bar in the State where he resides, and a distinguished member of the national legislature.

The undersigned has read the Award of Referees in the case of Miss H. ADAMS, against Drs. MORSE and PARISH. Being requested to state, what, in his opinion, should be done on the part of those gentlemen, "as an honourable and faithful compliance with its requirements," he suggests, that the claim in question not being such as either a *court of law or equity* can enforce, the matter is more properly cognizable by divines and moralists, than by lawyers. As the Referees had not sufficient information, to decide what the gentlemen should propose, "as reasonable offers of compromise," it is not to be expected, that an entire stranger to the controversy, can give a just opinion on the "*undefined claims*" of Miss ADAMS. It is however offered as the opinion of the undersigned, that Dr. M. and Dr. P. should propose to Miss A. to submit to three gentlemen, *to be named by the aforesaid Referees*, what "*those reasonable offers of compromise*," spoken of in the Award, shall be. Perhaps this *second process* will exhibit such "circumstances, views and motives," as will develop the *undefined nature of the claims* of Miss A.

AUGUST 31, 1813.

The following opinion was given at my request, by an able jurist, on a critical and legal examination of the Award, and will have its due weight with the public.

OPINION ON THE AWARD.

Nov. 3, 1813.

Having been requested by the Rev. Dr. MORSE to give my opinion, as to the meaning of a certain Award, signed by the Hon. THOMAS DAVES, JOHN DAVIS, and SAMUEL DEXTER, Esqrs.

and dated Boston, May 11, 1809, I think it proper to premise, that, in stating this opinion, I shall endeavour to exclude from my mind all extraneous information,* and to view the Award precisely as I should do, had I never heard a syllable, from any other source, of the parties, the controversy, or the Referees.

It appears from the preamble, that the Referees had been requested to give their opinion on the merits of a certain controversy between Miss HANNAH ADAMS and the Rev. Drs. MORSE and PARISH ;

That Miss ADAMS was the complainant ; That she alleged against the respondents an interference with two of her publications, viz. the Summary History of New-England, and an Abridgment of that History, by the Compendious History of New-England, which the Rev. gentlemen above mentioned had published in two editions ;

That Miss ADAMS was represented in the reference by STEPHEN HIGGINSON, Jun. Esq. and that Dr. MORSE took upon himself to answer for Dr. PARISH.

On this preamble I remark, that the precise nature of Miss ADAMS's complaint is not stated. Whether she complained that she had already suffered, or was afraid of suffering in future, does not appear ; nor is it certain, that the complaint was of a nature which demanded a pecuniary recompense, in her opinion. An *interference*, of the kind above alluded to, would, in my opinion, be most naturally interpreted to imply, that Miss ADAMS supposed herself to have suffered by it in a pecuniary point of view, and to be entitled to a pecuniary recompense. Of this, however, I would not be very confident ; for an *interference* might be complained of on other accounts, than sufferings of a pecuniary nature.

There is nothing in this preamble, which specifies the *time* of any of the publications ; though I think most persons would infer, that the work of Drs. MORSE and PARISH was published *subsequently to both the Works of Miss ADAMS.*

The Award commences by saying, that "after full deliberation, &c. the Referees were of opinion, that Drs. MORSE and PARISH, in making the publication complained of, *had not violated any right, which any judicatory, legal or equitable, is competent to enforce.*"

This part of the Award is perfectly plain to every person, who considers that the word *equitable* is evidently used in its technical sense. The Referees here decide, that Drs. MORSE and PARISH have not violated any right of Miss ADAMS, for the violation of which she would be entitled to redress by the laws of the land. This part of the Award is exculpatory so far as it goes. Still Drs. MORSE and PARISH might, for aught that is here said, have really injured Miss ADAMS, and might be bound in conscience to make her a recompense ; and it might be the duty of the Referees so to decide. Whether they have done

* See note at the end of this Opinion.

so, or not, will presently appear. In the mean time, it is worthy of consideration, that in cases which have hitherto escaped the animadversion of legislators and judges, the proof ought to be clear, all the circumstances should be known, and the principle adopted should be incontrovertible, before any board of Referees should take upon themselves, or exercise the office of casuists, and should decree what ought to be done, in point of conscience, by the parties at issue. Unless the case is very clear, it is obviously more proper that every man should be left to consult his own conscience, than to be guided by the consciences of others, where neither positive law, nor precedent, have thrown any light upon the subject. It is probable, that this consideration was present to the minds of the Referees, as is, if I mistake not, discoverable in the extreme caution with which the remaining part of the Award was written.

The Referees proceed to decide the following points :

1. "That Miss ADAMS, by her pre-occupation of the subject, and her assiduous and useful labours in the management of it, was entitled to attention and respect from gentlemen contemplating a publication of like import, embracing the same period of time, and which, unless obviously defective, must necessarily exhibit strong features of resemblance to Miss ADAMS's work."

2. That "the peculiar circumstances of that lady were also to be regarded, and would seem to require particular tenderness and attention, in any procedure, which might tend to diminish the profits of her literary labours."

3. That "from a due estimation of these considerations, there should have resulted a conviction that some amicable overtures were due to Miss ADAMS, for satisfying her undefined claims, before a publication should be made so similar to her performance, and so likely to interfere with her reasonable expectations."

4. That "the obligations resulting from views of this description are still in force, and should restrain Drs. MORSE and PARISH from bringing their Compendious History into competition with Miss ADAMS's Summary and Abridgment, without previous reasonable offers of compromise with her."

5. That the Referees had "not sufficient information of facts to enable them to say what ought to be the terms of such compromise."

6. That "the undefined nature of the claims, which they had suggested, might produce honest diversity of sentiment, and should prompt to a candid judgment on the subject."

7. That "the transaction, like many other moral concerns, might take its true character from circumstances, views, and motives, not appearing in evidence, and which might scarcely admit of a distinct exhibition."

The Referees add, that "they had not seen sufficient in this transaction to require the severity of censure that had occasionally been applied;" and that "they could perceive and duly

estimate the generous sympathy, which might have prompted to harsh expressions ; but their irritating tendency must be admitted, and they may have impeded a friendly and satisfactory accommodation between the parties."

The Award was not divided by the Referees into distinct points as above, but is plainly thus divisible ; and I have divided it for the sake of convenient reference.

In the first point, it is decided, that Miss ADAMS was entitled to *attention and respect*, from Drs. MORSE and PARISH. What is meant in particular by *attention and respect*, the Referees do not inform us ; nor do they say that suitable attention and respect had been withheld by the gentlemen ; nor, if withheld, do they venture to specify a penalty ; least of all do they intimate that the penalty, if any, for withholding attention and respect, should be of a pecuniary nature.

In the second point, it is decided, that the *peculiar circumstances* of that lady were to be regarded. What the peculiar circumstances of Miss ADAMS were, we are not told ; but they are declared to have been of a kind which *seemed to require particular tenderness and attention in any procedure which might tend to diminish the profits of her literary labours*. It is not said, that these peculiar circumstances were known to the gentlemen ; or that, if known, they had been disregarded ; that Miss ADAMS had not been treated with particular tenderness and attention ; or that the publication of the gentlemen *was* a procedure of the kind specified. If it had been a procedure of this kind, there is nothing in the Award which intimates, that it had *tended* to diminish, much less that it had *actually* diminished, the profits of Miss ADAMS's literary labours. Nor, in case it had actually diminished these profits, is it implied by any thing said in the Award, and certainly not in the nature of the case, that any recompense of any kind whatever was due from the gentlemen to Miss ADAMS. Indeed the Referees clearly admit, that if the publication made by the gentlemen was a procedure, which *might tend to diminish* Miss ADAMS's profits, all that the peculiar circumstances of Miss ADAMS *seemed* to require was to be treated with particular tenderness and attention. Particular tenderness and attention, every body knows, are very different things from a pecuniary recompense. But perhaps it will be said, that this matter is settled by what follows. We come then to the

Third point, in which it is decided, that, from the preceding considerations, there *should have* resulted a *conviction* that *amicable overtures* were due to Miss ADAMS for satisfying her *undefined claims*, &c. &c. The Referees do not decide, that a *conviction* of the kind alluded to had *not* resulted, or that *amicable overtures* had *not* been made. Nor do they hint at any recompense to her for not making *amicable overtures*, in case such overtures had not been made. The *claims* of Miss ADAMS are stated to be *undefined*, and the publication of the gentlemen is said to be *likely to interfere with her reasonable expectations*. That

Miss ADAMS's claims are capable of being defined, is not said; nor that the publication of the gentlemen *had* interfered with her reasonable expectations. In case such interference had existed, it is not decided that any recompense was due to Miss ADAMS; on the contrary, it will be seen, by attending to the fourth point, that the judgment of the Referees was to operate only in regard to a *future* state of facts, and not retrospectively.

In the fourth point, it is decided, that "the obligations, &c. &c. are still in force," *i.e.* as I understand it, that Miss ADAMS is still "entitled to attention and respect" from Drs. MORSE and PARISH; that her "peculiar circumstances" "would seem to require particular tenderness and attention, in any procedure, which might tend to diminish the profits of her literary labours;" and that there should still "result a conviction, that some amicable overtures were due to her for satisfying her undefined claims;" all these obligations are still in force, and "should restrain Drs. MORSE and PARISH from bringing their Compendious History into competition with Miss ADAMS's Summary and Abridgment," "without previous reasonable offers of compromise with her." By the terms *bringing into competition*, I suppose the Referees intended the exposing of the Compendious History for sale. From this course of proceeding the Referees thought Drs. MORSE and PARISH should be restrained, till they had made *reasonable offers of compromise*. The clause now under consideration is the only operative part of the Award; the only part which gives any directions as to what is to be done by either party. The directions here contained are couched under an alternative; Drs. MORSE and PARISH are either to stop the sale of their book, or make reasonable offers of compromise. On this alternative I remark,

First, That the Referees have made no provision, not the slightest, for redressing any injury which Miss ADAMS had already received in this business; of course, I am to presume that no injury had been proved, and that none had been sustained. So far as the Award is entitled to respect, the controversy is completely settled, as to all *previous* transactions; and that without any recompense to Miss ADAMS whatever. This consideration at once precludes the idea, that a pecuniary satisfaction was implicitly decreed to Miss ADAMS.

Secondly, By stopping the sale of their book, Drs. MORSE and PARISH would have perfectly complied with the Award.

Thirdly, By making reasonable offers of compromise, they would in like manner have complied with the Award.

Fourthly, They were not bound to procure the *acceptance* of the contemplated offers of compromise, but only to *make* them.

Fifthly, In case they should perform neither part of the alternative, no penalty or forfeiture is annexed, or even intimated. It is to be inferred, therefore, that the consciences of the parties

were to be appealed to in such an event, or, perhaps, that another conscientious tribunal was to be erected.

Sixthly, No words in the English language are more absolutely indefinite, than those which contain the whole pith and marrow of the decision; *viz. reasonable offers of compromise*. It is not possible, that the parties respectively should know when these terms are complied with, except by consulting their own judgment and consciences.

In the fifth point, it is declared, that the Referees "had not sufficient information of facts to enable them to fix the terms of the compromise."

I have already said, that the terms were indefinite; and the Referees have here alleged a valid reason for not having rendered them definite; *viz.* "that they had not sufficient information of facts."

The sixth point needs only to be read. It requires no comment.

The seventh point I consider as the most important part of the Award, as it candidly informs the reader in what light he is to regard the preceding parts. The Referees here say, that the transaction alluded to might take its *true character* from circumstances, views, and motives *not appearing in evidence*, and which might scarcely *admit* a distinct exhibition. Beyond all question this paragraph was intended to illustrate the points before decided.

Taking the Award as a whole, then, it is admitted to be possible, that the *true character* of the transaction was never discovered by the Referees. Of course, it is possible, that Drs. MORSE and PARISH, (to whom the circumstances, views and motives, of the transaction, were undoubtedly better known than to the Referees,) might arrive at the conclusion, that no offers of compromise were due to Miss ADAMS, any more than to any other respectable lady of their acquaintance. The whole business, therefore, is thrown back upon the consciences of Drs. MORSE and PARISH; and they are to settle the question, whether *any* offers of compromise should be made to Miss A. and, if any, what those offers should be. If they should decide wrong, no method is pointed out to remedy such a decision, or to ascertain that such a decision has been made. In short, they are left by this Award, taken as a whole, in the same situation, in regard to Miss ADAMS, as in regard to every other human being; for to any other person reasonable offers of compromise should be made, if the *true character* of any transaction requires such an offer.

The Referees, after deciding that Drs. MORSE and PARISH had not violated any right which any judicatory, legal or equitable, could enforce, seem charitably disposed to afford all the light in their power to assist the consciences of Drs. MORSE and PARISH, in determining whether any conscientious obligations lay upon these gentlemen. Upon this part of their duty,

the Referees enter with great caution, as became them when deciding most delicate questions of casuistry. This will be perceived by considering the phrases, *attention and respect*; *strong features of resemblance*; *peculiar circumstances*, which would seem to require particular tenderness and attention; might tend to diminish; resulted a conviction; amicable overtures; undefined claims; likely to interfere; reasonable expectations, reasonable offers of compromise. These phrases could never have been intended to decide any thing *definitely*; but as a description of certain general obligations, which would have some sort of force upon the conscience, in a certain supposable case. Whether this case existed, or not, the Referees could not decide, because the *true character* of the transaction might depend on things, which did not appear in evidence to them.

The foregoing is the opinion of the Award, which I have formed after very deliberate consideration; an opinion which may be summed up as follows: *that the Award does not decide, that Drs. MORSE and PARISH are under any obligations whatever to Miss ADAMS.*

* * * *

Note. In the course of the preceding examination, my attention was repeatedly drawn to the inquiry whether any pecuniary recompense was awarded. This would not have taken place, in all probability, if I had not heard that such a recompense had been said to be awarded. The assertion in the first paragraph, that I should exclude extraneous information from my mind, must be qualified by this note.

* * *

I trust it will not be deemed improper in me, here to introduce, as illustrative of the real meaning of the Award, a passage, which is contained in the *original draft* of that instrument, which, with the other papers, was put into my hands by the Referees. Though not retained in the draft which was finally adopted, it evinces at least what were the sentiments of the original draftsman, who must be supposed to have paid more attention to the subject, than either of the others, immediately after the hearing, and with all the papers and facts before him; and this for the express purpose of enabling him to form an opinion on the subject. In these circumstances, the passage will have all the weight it ought with the reader. It was inserted near the close of the Award, between the words "distinct exhibition," and "we would add, &c." and is as follows;

"We are therefore disposed and prepared, as we think it reasonable, to pay a charitable deference to the deliberate views and determinations of those gentlemen, in relation to this subject; though they may not correspond to the impressions we have expressed."

On the above I leave every reader to make his own comment.

2dly. In pursuance of the second method of counteracting my adversaries, on their new charge of dishonourable nonfulfilment of the Award, I addressed the following letter to Miss ADAMS.

DR. MORSE TO MISS ADAMS.

AUGUST 14, 1813.

Madam,

Notwithstanding the tenor of your last communication, (Dec. 4, 1812.) I am induced, in consequence of a recent and more explicit explanatory communication from the Referees, to make one more effort to bring to a just, and, if possible, to an amicable issue, by "compromise," all matters of difference between us. For this purpose I submit to your consideration, and acceptance, if you think proper, the following proposal, viz. That you appoint an agent to meet me, for conference on all the subjects of controversy between us. If we can adjust them, well; if not, we will agree on three gentlemen, to whom the whole subject shall be submitted, and whose decision shall be final.

This proposal is obviously in accordance with the Award of the Referees, as they have explained it; and though it seems to be an unnecessary repetition of what has already been done, I yield to it from a sincere desire, which I have always felt and manifested, to have our *misunderstanding*, which a few words of candid explanation at its commencement might have prevented, satisfactorily explained and terminated.

I shall hope for an early answer, and am your most obt. servant,

J. MORSE.

MISS ADAMS TO DR. MORSE.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

You propose that I should "appoint an agent to meet you for conference on all the subjects of difference between us." The "recent explanatory and more explicit communication from the Referees," is, I presume, to be the basis of this conference, since you have pledged yourself to abide by their decision. If I am correct in this presumption, and you have no intention of departing from this explanation, nor of reviving the whole subject of dispute, I will endeavour to find an agent, in whom we may mutually repose entire confidence.

My very infirm health makes it extremely difficult for me to write; but I would, even at the expense of considerable pain, assure you, that although I think you have treated me ungenerously, I feel no resentment; and that I should be most happy to receive, through an agent, any communication from you, on the basis above mentioned, which will be satisfactory to him, and final upon the subject. From your humble servant,

HANNAH ADAMS.

DR. MORSE TO MISS ADAMS.

SEPT. 7, 1813.

Madam,

This morning I received yours of the 1st inst. in answer to mine of the 14th ult. I am quite at a loss to understand your meaning. Without, however, attempting to explain it, or noticing, as I might, your unmerited imputation of having "treated you *ungenerously*;" I will only repeat to you my proposal, which, though precise and plain, as language permits, you seem not to have rightly understood.

For the purpose of bringing to a just, and, if possible, to an amicable issue, by "compromise," *all* matters of difference between us, I have been induced, in consequence of a recent explanatory and more explicit communication from the Referees, to make you the following proposal, viz.

That you appoint an agent to meet me for conference *on all the subjects* of controversy between us. If we can adjust them, well; if not, we (*i.e.* your agent and myself) will agree on three gentlemen, to whom the *whole subject* shall be submitted, whose decision shall be final. This proposition I consider as *definite, reasonable, intelligible, and consonant* to the Award of the Referees. If you assent to it, or not, I wish to know your determination without delay. After what has passed, you can require no time for deliberation. From your humble servant,

J. MORSE.

MISS ADAMS TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, SEPT. 14, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

The difference between you and myself has been submitted, at your own proposal, to three most respectable gentlemen, chosen by yourself, with the understanding that the decision should be binding on us both; that decision has been deliberately made, and you must now acknowledge is too explicit to be misunderstood. You offer no reason why it should not be considered as final, and yet propose "an agent to meet you for conference on the subjects of controversy between us, and if you should not agree, to appoint a new reference, to whom the whole subject should be again submitted." It is not necessary to give you the reasons why I cannot consider the Award as null and void, when you yourself suggest none why I should so consider it. If you will consent to meet an agent to make a final settlement on the basis of the Award already given, *I will most cheerfully accede to the proposal*. If not, I have nothing to ask of you, but that you would permit me to enjoy that tranquillity which is indispensably necessary to me in my present very feeble state of health. I am persuaded that both propriety and duty forbid me to agitate my mind any further on the subject, and must consider our

correspondence as finally closed; but if you consent to have an agent to make a final settlement, be so good as to give me notice.

From your humble servant,

HANNAH ADAMS.

A copy of the preceding letter, together with my answer of the 27th Sept. were transmitted to the Referees, Oct. 7th, 1813, while they had under consideration my letters to them of Aug. 11th and 23d. They were enclosed in a letter, of which the following is a copy.

DR. MORSE TO THE REFEREES.

OCT. 7, 1813.

Gentlemen,

The following (meaning the preceding letter) has been received and answered, since my last to you. For your information, I send you copies. To mine of Sept. 27th, no answer has been received.

I have been waiting, gentlemen, with some solicitude, for your answer to my last communication of August 23d, and shall be obliged by such answer, together with the only originals of your Award, &c. (which I handed you) that I possess, as soon as you can with convenience.

I wish an end put to this business, which, through no fault of mine, as I believe, has been magnified into great importance to me, and has interested extensively both enemies and friends. A thorough investigation of its *real merits*, has become indispensable; the *result* of which, if not the *process*, must be made public. I ought not to, and *cannot*, submit to have my character lie under unmerited reproach, from men, who have influence to render such reproach wounding. I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, yours,

J. MORSE.

Hon. JUDGE DAWES.

Hon. JUDGE DAVIS.

Hon. SAMUEL DEXTER.

DR. MORSE TO MISS ADAMS.

CHARLESTOWN, SEPT. 27, 1813.

Madam,

Yours of the 14th was received the 18th inst. From sickness in my family, and other engagements, an answer has been necessarily delayed to this time.

Waving strictures, which the tenor of the first part of your letter, would seem to require, I will only observe, that to evince my strong desire to have our differences *finally adjusted*, I accede to your proposal, with the addition of a single *proviso*, without which, I consider it materially defective.

I "consent to meet an agent, to be appointed by you, to make a *final settlement*, on the basis of the Award already given." Provided, that if any points shall arise in the course of our discussions upon the Award, on which we cannot agree, they shall be submitted to the final decision of three discreet men, of competent talents; one to be chosen by your agent, one by myself, and they to choose the third; provided we cannot agree in selecting him.

That this *proviso* is reasonable, and even necessary, in order to secure a *final settlement*, I trust you will not be disposed to deny, after a recurrence to your own opinion, given in your letter to me, of Dec. 4, 1812, in which you say, "I do not think any discussions upon the subject of the Award would make us agree in sentiment, respecting the decision of the Referees." Presuming that you will make no objection to the *proviso*, which I have annexed to your proposal, I will expect you to appoint your agent without delay, that we may proceed to terminate our need-less controversy, with all practicable despatch.

I am your humble serv't,

J. MORSE.

MISS ADAMS TO DR. MORSE.

Boston, Oct. 20, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

Your letter of the 27th ult. was left in town while I was in the country, which I hope will be an apology for my neglecting so long to notice it. I consent to appoint an agent to agree upon a settlement on the basis of the last communication from the Referees. There can be no disagreement now. When my letter alluded to by you was written, I believed we could not agree in our explanation of the Award, because I understood by your letters, and was told more explicitly by Mr. E. that you did not consider any pecuniary compensation as intended: hence I considered any conference on the subject as useless; but now you have obtained, from the Referees, so explicit a declaration of the meaning of their Award, that there can be no mistake, nor any room for a discussion upon the subject; the only question which can arise upon it, must relate to the amount of compensation; on this we cannot disagree, as by the kindness of friends, I am placed in a situation above want, as far as respects the pecuniary loss I have sustained by the publication of your book. I shall be satisfied with any compensation you may propose.

Being deprived, in the course of Providence, of that excellent friend, who managed the business before the Referees, Mr. F. D. CHANNING, I now appoint Mr. JAMES SAVAGE as my agent to receive your proposals of settlement on the basis of the Award. I have given him such instructions, as to render it impossible that

I should be involved in a reference, which might produce another long discussion, and again agitate my feelings, and injure my health. From your humble servant,

HANNAH ADAMS.

THE REFEREES TO DR. MORSE.

Boston, Oct. 25, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

We have received various letters from you relative to your controversy with Miss HANNAH ADAMS. To such parts of these as seem to us to require an answer, we now briefly reply; hoping to be excused from further correspondence on a subject, with which our connection has long since terminated. You are already possessed of our reasons against giving any opinion on matters that have occurred since the hearing of the parties. These have never been submitted to us by the parties, nor have they been heard, respecting them. In regard to the disadvantageous circumstances, under which you say you submitted to the hearing, however embarrassing at that time, or in the event, we can perceive no reason to complain of our proceedings.

When we declined acting on those other concerns, which you wished to include in the arbitrament, sufficient reasons, as we conceive, were stated for such determination. This was the only controversy which we had consented to consider. If you were disappointed by that determination, announced at the first opening of the case, it was in your power to decline the hearing, unless the other matter referred to should be included. You chose to proceed; and the complaints on this head, which you now so emphatically express, are, to say the least, unexpected.

You say, that our last communication is a *new Award*. If this be true, it cannot bind you, for we had no right to make it. The part of our last letter to which you allude is this, "we did mean to say, that Doctors MORSE and PARISH equitably owed to Miss ADAMS a substantial and valuable recompense for their interference with her work." This obnoxious expression is greatly misconstrued by you, when you consider it as implying any thing as to the *quantum* of recompense, that may be due from you to Miss ADAMS. It expresses only the *nature* of it, as opposed to kind treatment, courteous language, respect, &c. &c. which from some things in your communications to us, seemed to be apprehended, as the whole amount you owed her. This error we meant to correct, and thought we had communicated our intentions with sufficient precision; but as further explanations appear to you to be necessary, we will now give an exposition of our Award, in as plain language as possible. In substance we said, that Doctors MORSE and PARISH had not violated any right,

which any judicatory could enforce. We presume it will be admitted, however, that rights, which cannot be enforced by any court, are sometimes binding on the conscience of a good man. We proceeded to show, that Miss ADAMS had a right of this sort, acquired by prior occupancy of the subject, and assiduous and useful labour, and also, that her peculiar circumstances rendered it a very delicate case, as to any procedure that might tend to diminish the profits of her literary exertions. We added, that some amicable overtures were due to Miss ADAMS, for satisfying her undefined claims, before so similar a publication should be made, and so likely to *interfere with her reasonable expectations*. The mind is here necessarily called to a pecuniary loss borne by Miss ADAMS, in consequence of such interference. We then express our opinion, that this is not to be considered as a mere mistake, which is past, and may justly be forgotten; for we say, the obligations resulting are still in force, and the Compendious History of Doctors MORSE and PARISH ought not to be brought into competition with Miss ADAMS's Summary and Abridgment, without previous reasonable offers of compromise with her. The terms of this compromise, we say, we could not prescribe, for want of information as to facts. The plain meaning is this, Doctors MORSE and PARISH have improperly, though perhaps inadvertently, deprived Miss ADAMS of a prospect of pecuniary profit, which was fairly her own, by offering their book for sale, in competition with her publications. They ought to retrace this step, and take their Compendious History out of the market. But this may throw a heavy loss on them; therefore we suggest the propriety of their making to Miss ADAMS reasonable proposals of compromise, that the sale of all the books may proceed. Should Miss ADAMS *refuse to agree to any reasonable terms, it is fairly to be inferred, that those gentlemen may go on and sell their books*. We now conclude, that when we awarded that Doctors MORSE and PARISH had violated a right in Miss ADAMS, which they were bound in conscience to respect, and that they ought to retrace the step, by taking their books out of the market, and thus by suffering a loss themselves, prevent the mischief to Miss ADAMS, or else satisfy her by a reasonable compromise, we awarded that they owed her "a substantial and valuable recompense."

We are, sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient servants,

THOMAS DAWES.
SAMUEL DEXTER.
JOHN DAVIS.

To this communication, as the Referees wished "to be excused from further correspondence on the subject," no answer was given; and, in connection, as it now stands, with the other documents, particularly with the able *opinions* of impartial men, p. 137, to 145, and 107, 108. I leave it without comment, for the public to form an unbiassed opinion; requesting only, that they would carefully compare the *language* here used, with that of their original and *only* Award.

DR. MORSE TO MR. SAVAGE.

CHARLESTOWN, OCT. 29, 1813.

Sir,

By the letter you were kind enough to leave with Mrs. MORSE yesterday, from Miss ADAMS, I learn, that she has appointed you her agent to confer with me on the subject of an Award made by Judge DAWES, Judge DAVIS, and Mr. DEXTER, May 11th, 1809, on certain matters in dispute, submitted to their decision. I presume, sir, your appointment is in consequence of a proposal I made to Miss A. in my letter to her of the 27th ult. in the following words, viz. "I consent to meet an agent," &c. [See the letter, p 149.]

If, sir, you are authorized to treat with me *on the above basis*, and are *instructed* to bring all matters in controversy between Miss A. and myself to a *final* adjustment, in the course above stated, as I presume is the fact, I shall be very happy to meet you, for the purpose, at any time and place which may be mutually agreeable.

It will facilitate the accomplishment of our business, sir, if you will state in writing specifically, and distinctly, Miss A's claims, which she conceives arise out of the Award, before we meet.

I cannot but express the satisfaction I feel in the appointment which Miss A. has made, being, sir, with high esteem, for your talents and candour, your obedient servant.

J. MORSE.

MR. SAVAGE TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, OCT. 29, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

On the subject of your letter of yesterday, the first thought, which I communicated to you verbally, seems to be correct.

Your proposition to Miss ADAMS, in your letter of 27th ult. was, to meet an agent to be appointed by her to make a final settlement on the basis of the Award already given. But your proposal terminated with a proviso, that, if the agent and yourself should disagree on any points, they should be submitted to another arbitration.

Miss ADAMS, in her answer of 20th inst. consents to appoint an agent to agree upon such a settlement as you proposed. She says nothing there of the proviso mentioned in your letter; but

in the latter part, after informing you that she appointed me her agent to receive your proposals for settlement on the basis, which is understood by each party, she adds, that her instructions to me render it impossible to submit to another reference.

You see then, sir, that Miss A. accepts your proposition in general terms, but excepts the proviso. Or she makes you a proposition to treat with me, it being understood that I am restricted in a manner, which renders further arbitration impossible. I assured you yesterday, that I feel no disposition to transgress my authority. But the hypothesis of any disagreement between us would never have been suggested by me. Can we not discuss the subject until we arrive at some such point, as you seemed to foresee and wished to provide for? Perhaps it may not occur. On this ground I will meet you at your house any day next week, or the two succeeding weeks, when agreeable to you.

Agreeably to your request, I will state specifically and distinctly the claim of Miss A. arising out of the Award, to be a claim for pecuniary compensation, and to this alone my power seems to extend. On the *quantum* of this compensation you and I will not easily differ, for it must depend chiefly on your sense of justice. Miss ADAMS, as she assures me, feels anxious only to close the controversy, give you an acquittance and discharge, and dismiss the recollection from her thoughts.

If you, sir, conceive that any other topic ought to be considered at our meeting, as arising out of the Award, to be adjusted by me, your suggestion of it will enable me, previously, to submit it to my principal, and, if necessary, discuss it with all the respect due from your obedient servant,

J. SAVAGE.

REMARKS OF DR. MORSE ON THE PRECEDING.

On receiving the preceding letter, notwithstanding its singular character, and hoping that something might yet be effected by an interview, I addressed a note to Mr. Savage, requesting that he would call on me at my house; which he accordingly did, on the first of November. We had several hours desultory conversation on the subject before us. I also communicated to him such documents in my possession, as he had not before seen, which I supposed would throw light on the subject, and enable us, on correct grounds, to terminate the controversy. I stated to him in writing the *points* which I conceived the Referees in their Award had left Miss A. to determine and settle with Dr. P. and myself, and which, of course Mr. S. and myself were now to discuss and settle, which were the three following;

1. What ought to be the terms of compromise between Miss A. and myself, which the Referees could not determine for want of sufficient information of facts.

2. We are to define and adjust an "*undefined claim*," which "from its nature may produce honest diversity of sentiment."

3. We are to determine the nature of a transaction, which, "like many other moral concerns, may take its *true character* from circumstances, views and motives not appearing in evidence" to the Referees, and "which may scarcely admit of a distinct exhibition."

Mr. S. admitted that these were points to be settled by us. The effects of this interview, however, were by no means such as I had hoped and anticipated. I found that, notwithstanding all my endeavours to bring into clear view and discussion, the real points in the controversy, there was an obstinate persistence, on the part of Miss A. and her advisers, in the old course of evading these points, and of keeping alive the controversy for still further use. When I asked Mr. S. for his *instructions* from Miss A. I found he had none, other than were contained in her *vague* letter to me of Oct. 20, 1813, from the last clause of which, I had a right to expect that he had received *other* instructions, than that letter contained. I perceived, also, that the *proviso* annexed to my proposal, though so often stated by me, to be in my view *essential* to the *termination* of the controversy, and as I had supposed acceded to by her, from the very circumstance of her appointing an agent in compliance with my proposal, was after all excepted to by Miss A. and what is more important still, that the *grand point* in the controversy was to be *taken for granted*, viz. that the Referees had adjudged to Miss A. a *pecuniary compensation*, and that the *quantum* of this compensation was the only point to be decided. As it was well known to Miss A. and to her agent, that I had uniformly denied that *pecuniary compensation* was adjudged to Miss A. by the Referees in their Award, and that I was abundantly supported in this denial by the judgment of others; and also, that I understood the clause in the communication of the Referees of April 27, 1813, which has been seized with such avidity by Miss A. and her friends, as decisive in support of her *pecuniary* claim, as giving no support to such claim, but as unequivocally against it; I could not but consider the *ground taken*, and the course proposed to be pursued by Miss A. and her agent, as *dishonourably trifling with me*. There was *ostensibly* manifested on their part a disposition to accede to my proposal, and to settle and terminate the controversy; while yet an essential part of my proposal was excepted against, and a *basis* of negotiation *assumed*, and insisted on, as the only one on which Miss A's agent was permitted to proceed, which it was known I would not admit. I conceived it, indeed, as in fact, a refusal on the part of Miss A. or rather of her advisers, to settle the controversy.

Seeing that there was in Miss A. a determination to persist in setting up a *pecuniary* claim, on the basis of the Award, particularly as explained by the Referees, I was willing to know what

Miss A. considered as the amount of her claim; how *she* estimated the injury she had in her own opinion sustained by our interference with her works. Accordingly, I requested Mr. SAVAGE to state this amount. With much reluctance, he at length consented to do it, as in the paper which follows.

MR. SAVAGE'S STATEMENT OF MISS A'S CLAIMS.

I proposed the claim of Miss ADAMS as to pecuniary compensation, as intended by the Award of the Referees, May 11, 1809, because Dr. M. and Dr. P. had not withdrawn their copies of the History of New-England from competition with a work of Miss A. on the same subject; nor had made her reasonable offers of compromise, which might have terminated in a result equally beneficial to Miss A. I did not name the amount of the claim, and when afterward very much pressed by Dr. MORSE to demand a specific sum, I assumed the amount hypothetically to be 100 dollars a year since the publication of Miss A's History Abridged, without pretending to determine whether it might be more or less, as I had never considered any of the elements of which the liquidation should be made; and added, that as to the amount, he might reply any thing to that assumed sum, and that in his result, if it reduced it to *a dollar*, I would certainly agree.

J. SAVAGE.

Nov. 1, 1813.

REPLY OF DR. MORSE.

J. MORSE rests on the ground that he has honourably and faithfully complied with the Award, as he understands it, having made "*reasonable offers of compromise*" to Miss A. immediately after the Award was given. He denies that any *pecuniary* compensation is, or has been, due Miss A. within the fair construction of the Award. He offers to have the correctness of his opinions tested by three competent men, appointed in the manner he has proposed to Miss A.

The artifice which was here intended to be practised upon me, was obvious to my mind. The sum was nothing in their account. An *acknowledgment of injury* on my part, and thus furnishing to Miss A. ground of *forgiveness*, or "acquittance and discharge," was the object to be obtained. And a "*dollar*," a *cent*, or even a *peppercorn*, as I observed to Mr. SAVAGE, would have answered this purpose. It is not difficult to conjecture what use would have been made of such an acknowledgment, by my adversaries, could they have obtained it. It would have committed to them my character, which I should not have deemed very safe in their hands.

MR. SAVAGE TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, Nov. 5, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

In answer to my letter of 29th ult. when I was invited to your house by the note of the 1st inst. which offered no reply to any thing contained in mine, I presumed we were to meet on the terms therein mentioned. This presumption could not fail of support, though it needed none, from the language of the previous letters between you and Miss A. relative to the appointment of an agent, in consequence of which she named me to confer with you. Yours of 14th August, the first of the late series of epistles, begins, "I am induced, in consequence of a recent and more explicit communication from the Referees, to make one more effort to bring to a just, and, if possible, to an amicable issue, by compromise, all matters of difference between us." If any ambiguity existed in the original Award, so that its precise import was unintelligible to the party acquainted with all the subjects of discussion, and able to apply every epithet, and estimate every phrase, except those relating to himself, the explanations that he desired might be expected to have with him the full force of the arbitrators' authority. As they have three times expounded their meaning, it is peculiarly unfortunate, that we should disagree as well about substance as form.

Your letters to Miss A. requesting the appointment of an agent to confer on *all* the subjects of controversy, implied that more than one subsisted between you; to which the last sentence of my letter alluded, by desiring you to specify any other topic for consideration at our meeting, besides the single one exhibited by me. On this head I was glad to receive no answer, and from our meeting have brought away no recollection of any other matter by us to be adjusted.

You several times explained, sir, the meaning of compromise, to be mutual concession, intended by the Award to reduce the claims of each party. When I asked, what Miss ADAMS should concede, you gave no answer that fixed itself distinctly in my memory.

I am, however, confirmed in the opinion expressed to you at the time, that the object of my agency is wholly unattainable. You think that the expression, through Mr. E. of your wish for a friendly conference with Miss A. is an honourable and faithful compliance with the requirement of reasonable offers of compromise in the Award; and that no pecuniary compensation is, or has been, due. I do not perceive how the offer of a personal interview can be considered a fulfilment of the intent of the Referees: Another meeting between us therefore seems unnecessary; any further argument must be hopeless. Your course is right in your own eyes; and in so many years, your sense of the justice of the cause should be more enlightened, than mine in a few days.

Of the three points which you had previously prepared for us to determine and settle, I was ready for the discussion of the whole instantly, but as we had protracted our conference until nearly 9 o'clock, it was postponed. It is only from respect to you, sir, not that it can probably be of any use, that I now refer to them. As to the compromise between yourself and Miss A. advised by the Referees, the terms of which they could not determine, for want of sufficient information of facts, it was intended to have reference to the state of things then existing. If Miss A. was suffering from the competition, that suffering has continued ever since undiminished, in her opinion, by any exertions of yours to relieve it. She, however, has become quite indifferent about the terms, so far as amount of compensation is concerned, and barely asserts her right, which she is ready to relinquish, whenever you acknowledge it. The second proposition we should not disagree about. The defining of the claim Miss A. has expressly left to your own sense of justice. As to the third, nothing could be more improper than for me to discuss the circumstances, views and motives of the original transaction. They involve a question which I should not be more willing to inquire into, than competent to determine.

Thus far I had written, sir, before you called on me yesterday, and requested another meeting, hoping in the interval to mature a view of the case, that would promise a satisfactory termination of our labours. To this I could not assent, because no point appeared to remain for discussion. I promised, however, at last, that if you could exhibit in writing any proposition, on which our conference might be expected to lead to a final adjustment, I would devote myself to the purpose.

Miss A. will never assent to the proposal to have the correctness of your opinions on one Award, determined by another from different arbitrators. Such a course would be in its nature interminable. Her feeble health, and disposition, to peace forbid any further controversy than such as may be terminated by me. She ought to be disturbed with no more correspondence on a subject, which your anxiety alone compels her to remember.

You well know, sir, that I could not treat with disrespect any gentleman of your character and profession, and therefore will ascribe my plainness of language, as well now as at our meeting, to the sincere disposition of relieving Miss ADAMS and yourself from the solicitude of this long protracted negotiation.

For your politeness to myself, I regret that my acknowledgment is all the return that can be bestowed by

Your obedient servant,

J. SAVAGE.

MR. SAVAGE TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, Nov. 10, 1815.

Rev. Sir,

Although I had expected your next communication to me would be in writing, agreeable to the promise in my last to have a personal conference only on a distinct proposition, to discuss which might lead to a final settlement, you called on Monday to request another interview without adopting what appeared a prerequisite. I have leisure enough for correspondence on the subject; but the inconvenience in being taken off from attention to my business in the morning was witnessed by yourself. I shall call on you with pleasure, sir, if any prospect of adjustment presents itself.

However, you verbally proposed a subject for our debate as definite as it could well be on paper, which, if incorrectly exhibited by me, you will be so kind as to amend. It was, that the expression of your wishes by Mr. E. to Miss ADAMS for a friendly conference with her alone or in company with some friend of both parties, in order to make the compromise recommended by the Referees, was a perfect fulfilment of the Award. You justly observed that this question had never been discussed between us. This I promised to make known to Miss A.

You observed that, if the agent's authority was too much restricted to permit him to discuss with you all the circumstances of the controversy, you should consider his appointment an insult. The object of the nomination was explained as it seemed to me, sir, with simplicity in the letter of Miss A. informing you of it, and in mine of the 29th; however, I have not yet mentioned this suggestion of yours to Miss A. because it appears not likely to facilitate our meeting, and might intimidate her more than myself.

I was deputed by her to receive your proposals for settlement on the basis of the Award; and as Mr. E. introduced his communication to Miss A. by saying that you did not consider any pecuniary compensation as recommended, the question of the competency of your offers would compel us once more to advert to the construction of the Award. If you at first thought, sir, that course sufficient, before your inquiries into the nature of the compensation and the successive answers of the Referees more and more explicit, it was natural for Miss A. to imagine that you must since have received a different impression of the subject; and that her agent would not now have to inquire into the sufficiency of former, instead of receiving new proposals. It is not common for a party whose claims have been determined by a judgment, again to set them loose at the pleasure of the other. Nor can Miss A. whose intention was only to give you a discharge on almost any terms you might propose, consent to a fruitless inquiry into the sufficiency of offers, that in her opinion offered noth-

ing. On this subject therefore, sir, the nature of the case prevents our conference. If you think of any other point, about which we may profitably debate, your suggestion will receive the most deliberate consideration from your humble servant,

J. SAVAGE.

P.S. I have this moment, noon, received yours of this morning, and will attend to its contents, and give you, sir, the earliest information of the result.

The next step in the process of this business, was the following letter.

DR. MORSE TO MR. SAVAGE.

Nov. 10, 1813.

Sir,

Owing to the indefinite nature of your instructions, and the corresponding course, which our discussions have in consequence taken, they are not, as I can perceive, likely in this course to be brought to any definite or satisfactory issue. To bring them, if possible, to such an issue, and thus correctly to close for ever this long controversy, waving what has past, and also my *proviso*. I will meet you, on the ground of Miss A's proposition, in her letter of Sept. 14th, which is expressed in these words, "If you will consent to meet an agent to make a final settlement on the basis of the Award already given, *I will most cheerfully accede to the proposal.*" If Miss A. adheres to her proposition, and will give you corresponding instructions, definitely *in writing*, I will meet you at any time, that shall be mutually convenient. An early answer is requested, by your humble servant,

J. MORSE.

MR. SAVAGE TO DR. MORSE.

Boston, Nov. 12, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

The nature of my instructions seems to have been sufficiently definite to close the controversy between yourself and Miss ADAMS, if any proposal of terms for settlement had been made by you, of which the suggestion of a single one in any interview or letter is not recollected; and the consequent course of our discussions has not been definite and satisfactory, because your view of the obligation imposed by the Award is so widely different from that of Miss A. and of the arbitrators. The result I foresaw after my long conference at your house, and the next day expressed my fears to Miss ADAMS, that all the good I had done was, to ascertain that none could be done.

In consistency with the terms of Miss A's letter, I have met you, sir, to make a final settlement on the basis of the Award, and have been ready and willing to give you a release and dis-

charge from her of all claim to any pecuniary compensation intended by it. Such instructions I had from that lady, and I continue ready to receive any proposal from you, and thereupon to execute my trust by giving you an acquittance on any terms you desire, not contradictory to the intention of the Referees and the honour of Miss A. If this should be declined, because my instructions are not anew put into writing, being already contained in her epistle to you, I shall be at a loss to construe such a course of proceeding, as any thing other than evasion, a construction so derogatory to your character, that it must be very reluctantly adopted by, sir, your most obedient servant,

J. SAVAGE.

DR. MORSE TO MR. SAVAGE.

Nov. 15, 1813.

Sir,

Yours of the 12th is received. Miss A's proposal to me, which I have accepted, was, to appoint an agent to "*meet me, and make a final settlement on the basis of the Award already given.*" It was her intention, I presume, it certainly was mine, (the terms of the proposal indeed will admit of no other interpretation) that our negotiation should be conducted, *viva voce*, not by *written* correspondence. This latter I had declined, when formerly proposed by Miss A. herself, both because I had not time for it, and because it would not be *likely* to accomplish the object intended. This mode of discussion, by *writing*, and for the same reasons, I still must decline with her agent. I have accordingly made no reply to any statement in your *written* communications. I am ready to answer verbally, if you are disposed to allow me the opportunity. We have had one meeting, the result of which is contained in the writing you left with your signature, and my reply. This I consider as the *whole progress* we have made. If you, sir, think this terminates your agency, and your instructions will permit you to proceed no further I certainly can have no control over your principal, or her agent. I can only say, that I did not understand your instructions to be thus limited; nor when you left my house, did I suppose that you considered our negotiations terminated, nor did you, to my recollection, intimate any thing of the kind at the time; I have since repeatedly requested you to meet me, for the purpose of continuing our discussions upon the Award, which, though we might in the outset differently understand, we might in the issue find an interpretation, in which we might agree, and thus amicably make a *final settlement*, of this long, very frivolous, and hurtful controversy. If your instructions will not permit you to do this, and you are forbidden to proceed further, they are, in my view at least, at *variance* with Miss A's own proposal to me, and which I have accepted. It rests with you and your principal to say, whether or not our discussions are now termi-

nated on the basis of the paper you left me with your signature, and my reply ; or whether they shall be continued for the purpose of coming, if practicable, to an issue, whhich shall be mutually satisfactory. I wait your reply. Yours, &c.

J. MORSE.

MR. SAVAGE TO DR. MORSE.

Boston, Nov. 17, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

Your preference of negotiation, *viva voce*, to written correspondence, was certainly reasonable, while any definite point remained for discussion ; but I do not perceive any on which our discussion can tend to a settlement. In my conference of more than four hours and a half with you, the result of which is in writing with our respective signatures, the progress we made satisfied me, that no further progress under my agency was attainable. My powers were so little limited, that no possible extension of them could enable me to act otherwise. Miss A. appointed me to meet you, and make a final settlement, and the requisite authority was necessarily implied in the commission ; but not having received any proposals from you, I could not adjust the terms alone.

I really did not intimate, but directly declared, that our negotiation appeared to me to be closed, by the manner in which you viewed your obligation under the Award, and the course alleged as a fulfilment of it. You answered, that we might talk over the matter further, or to that effect. While your view of the subject remains the same as when we parted at Charlestown, however, our further talking would not lead to an adjustment ; but should you have any proposals to make on the basis of the Award, I will meet you with pleasure to discuss them. Till then, sir, our negotiation seems useless. Whether our discussions, therefore, are now terminated on the basis of the paper left with you, must remain for your own determination.

The controversy, I agreed with you, had been hurtful ; but that it was frivolous, I never suspected. If the epithet, however, belong to the manner, in which attempts have been made to close it, your judgment, sir, will exonerate from the censure the labours of your humble servant,

J. SAVAGE.

DR. MORSE TO MR. SAVAGE.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 19, 1813.

Sir,

Upon the Award of the Referees, of May 11, 1809, you claim for Miss A. as her Agent, "hypothetically," \$100 a year since the publication of her *History Abridged*, without pretending to determine whether it *be more or less*, as you had never consider-

ed any of the elements of which the liquidation should be made ; and you add, that as to the amount, I might reply any thing to the sum, which you had *assumed*, and should it be a *dollar*, you should certainly agree. And this statement was made by you, after I had requested you to demand the *full* amount of her *just* claims.

This very vague and *indefinite* claim, you founded on the *supposed* facts, that Dr. P. and myself had not withdrawn our History from competition with Miss A's, nor made her reasonable offers of compromise, in conformity to the Award. I replied, that I had, in full and faithful compliance with the Award, made Miss A. "reasonable offers of compromise," which she had refused ; and denied, that any pecuniary compensation was awarded by the Referees ; and that I was ready to have the correctness of these opinions tested, by three impartial judges.

We have made no attempts, by a careful and candid examination of the Award, to ascertain which of our diverse opinions, is correct, or to effect the compromise recommended by the Referees. Perhaps such an examination, together, of the Award, might result in an agreement and final settlement. At least, we cannot determine that it would not, till we shall have made the trial. Your good sense, sir, and fairness of mind, will not permit you to *insist* on taking for granted the very point in controversy, viz. that Dr. P. and myself *do owe* Miss A. *something*, even though it should not be more than a "dollar," or even a *peppercorn* ; and, to *assume* what we deny, that the only question for us to decide, is the amount—this course certainly can never be justified on the ground of *fair* and *honourable* dealing. I am now ready, sir, and have been so ever since your appointment, candidly to discuss the Award with you, in view of all the helps afforded us for a right understanding of it, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, in its fair construction, it requires of Dr. P. and myself, any pecuniary compensation, or in any other respect lays us under any obligations, which have not by us been honourably fulfilled.

If your instructions do not authorize you to enter on such a discussion, they are certainly defective, because, in no other way can we arrive at a fair adjustment of our differences. And if Miss A. shall refuse to give you such instructions, I must, of necessity, (though it will be with reluctance,) infer, that she, or rather her advisers, have no *sincere* desire to have this long controversy fairly and honourably terminated ; and that all further correspondence and discussion between us, will be useless. I wait your reply, and am your obedient servant,

J. MORSE.

MR. SAVAGE TO DR. MORSE.

BOSTON, Nov. 22, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

When I was appointed by Miss ADAMS to meet you, to bring the controversy to a final settlement, she gave me no instructions to make any demand on you. I expected to receive your proposals, and therefor, if they were consistent with the judgment of the Referees, and the honour of Miss A. to give you a discharge for any pecuniary compensation intended by the Award.

You must allow me, sir, to amend an error in your last, and to say, that I have made an attempt, in conversation at your house, by a careful and candid examination of the Award, to ascertain which of the diverse opinions, yours or Miss A's, was correct. That examination I pursued, until a fair adjustment from further discussion was not to be expected.

I once more advert, unwillingly, to your suggestion of compliance with the Award, by reasonable offers of compromise, through Mr. E. but you call my attention again to that proceeding. Mr. E. in his letter to F. D. CHANNING, Nov. 9, 1809, the correspondence between whom, at the time of my conference with you, I had not seen, and never desired, as you may recollect my saying, to study what could be of no use to me in the object of my agency, that seemed only to require me, to receive your proposals and sign a discharge. Mr. E. in his letter says; "I have no remembrance of ever making any verbal offer, or proposal to Miss A. in behalf of Dr. MORSE." All, then, which he proposed from you, was in writing. He writes to Miss A. that you did not consider any pecuniary compensation recommended, that you wished for a friendly conference with her alone, or in company with some friend of both parties, to make the compromise recommended, and concludes with offering his own assistance. To decline the assistance of Mr. E. Miss A. had particular reasons, which she explained to himself. But, sir, I can hardly consider seriously, the friendly conference and kind words, that might have passed, in which you would, of course, have enjoyed so vast a superiority, to be alleged as the substantial and valuable recompense, contemplated by the Referees, as due to the other party. A further reference to this subject may seem unnecessary. If it is a satisfaction to yourself, sir, it has answered the best part of its purpose.

That you did owe Miss A. something, good sense and fairness of mind would compel any agent to insist on taking for granted; and fair and honourable dealing, I thought, must assume that the only question to be decided was the amount. The fair construction of the Award, in view of all the helps afforded for a right understanding of it, seemed difficult to be missed; and when the

conclusion was "that you equitably owed Miss ADAMS a substantial and valuable recompense," in me it would have been presumptuous to agitate any other topic than the *quantum* of that recompense. But this Miss A. determined to leave altogether to yourself. She had previously informed you, sir, that she was indifferent to the terms; that she desired your compliance with the Award, more for your sake than her own. For her mental sufferings from this controversy, no recompense can be afforded. These she must forgive, and endeavour to forget. But for any substantial compensation she was willing to release you, even by the receipt of a peppercorn, when you propose that payment.

Miss A. did not renew this correspondence on the Award. She had long ceased, sir, to expect any recompense; nor has my experience led me to hope, that any good can arise from our further discussion, verbal or written. You assert, that nothing is due; Miss A. will never make any demand. May not, then, the subject sleep? If however, you are still solicitous for a more amicable adjustment, you may offer any written propositions, sir, for that purpose, and they will be considered with promptness; and in the directions of Miss A. upon them you may be assured of the ready acquiescence of your most humble servant,

J. SAVAGE.

The preceding correspondence seems to require a few, and but a few, explanatory remarks.

1st, Mr. SAVAGE denies, in behalf of his principal, that the "offers of compromise," which I made to Miss A. by Mr. E. *satisfied* the requisition of the Award; because "friendly conference and kind words," could not be considered as "the substantial and valuable recompense, contemplated by the Referees, as due Miss A." and because "Mr. E. made no *verbal*," but only a "*written* offer of compromise to Miss A." in my behalf. The latter objection can require no reply. To the former, I answer, my "offers of compromise" made by Mr. E. did by no means imply, that "friendly conference and kind words," were all that Miss A. was to expect from Dr. P. and myself; if more were *justly* her due from us. By this "friendly conference, and these kind words," we were to ascertain whether any thing more *was* due.

2. The word "compromise," does not imply "*pecuniary* compensation," nor "substantial and valuable recompense," of any kind. In this assertion I am supported by all lexicographers of the first authority, and by many of the ablest jurists and philologists in our country. These written "offers of compromise," made at my request, by Mr. E. were, therefore, in the opinion of the gentlemen above alluded to, a *literal, honourable and complete* fulfilment of the Award, according to its fair construction. The Award, I considered, as the *only rule* to guide us in the settlement of this controversy with Miss A. The *explanations* of the Referees were of no other *authority*, than those of other men.

3. Neither the Award itself, nor yet the *extraordinary* interpretation given of it, by the Referees, in their letter to me of the 27th of April, 1813, authorized Mr. SAVAGE to *assume*, as an incontrovertible fact, that *pecuniary* recompense was adjudged to be due Miss A. and that the only "topic to be agitated by us was the *quantum* of that recompense." As to the Award, after reading it, and the documents which follow it, I can hardly suppose, that any man will risk his character, as a scholar, or as a man of common sense and understanding, by asserting that, in the fair construction of language, it adjudges to Miss A. from Dr. P. and myself, any *pecuniary* compensation whatever." The Referees themselves say expressly, in their explanatory letter above alluded to; "We did not say it should be *in money*." Nor does the Award, or even the explanation of it now under consideration, declare *determinately* and *absolutely*, that any other substantial compensation is due Miss A. from us. The Award itself certainly does not. And though the *clause* in the explanation, which is so confidently relied on by Mr. SAVAGE, as supporting his ground, *seems*, when taken by itself, and disconnected from the Award, to favour his pretensions; yet the explanatory sentences, which immediately follow, interpreted by the Award as a rule, if they have any meaning, effectually destroy all its *certainty*, and leave in *doubt*, not only the *amount* of the "substantial and valuable recompense due Miss A. for our interference with her work," and the "*form*" in which this recompense, if any be due, shall be made; but even the *fact*, whether any such recompense is *equitably* due Miss A. from us. What other meaning can be given to this sentence, which immediately follows the one quoted and relied on by Miss A. "We did not estimate the amount, *because we did not know how much she had suffered*." Did the Referees *know*; were they *certain*, that she had "*suffered*" from us in any such degree, as to constitute a foundation for a *just* claim on us for any sort of "substantial and valuable recompense?" I think I am authorized, from their own expressions to say, they had no such *absolute, certain knowledge* of the fact here stated. In their Award they say, in view of ALL her sufferings from us, which had come to their knowledge, "The *undefined nature* of Miss A's claims, may produce *honest diversity* of sentiment. The transaction, like many other moral concerns, may take its *true character* from circumstances, views and motives, *not appearing in evidence*, &c." Such is the language of the Referees, concerning Miss A's "*sufferings*," and "*claims*;" and if this is not the language of *doubt* and *uncertainty*, I know not what language can be. I am then justified in asserting, that the Referees have left *undecided* the *fact*, whether or not Miss A. has actually *suffered* any thing from Dr. P. and myself, for which she is entitled to compensation; as well, as the "*amount*," if she has suffered, and the "*form* of compensation:" all are left *doubtful* by the Referees; all were "left to

the parties to adjust." Such is my opinion. If so, Mr. SAVAGE's assumption was unauthorized; his ground was untenable.*

3. Mr. SAVAGE speaks of Miss A's "mental sufferings from this controversy." They doubtless have been great, and may be even greater still. But whether these sufferings are to be ascribed to the injuries she has received from Dr. P. and myself, in the instances alleged; or from her own conduct in originating this controversy by her groundless complaints; from her constant refusals, amicably and honourably to terminate it; and from a consciousness of the injuries she has done me, by permitting my adversaries to use her complaints, in the manner they have done; I am willing the public should decide. I am not conscious of having been the *faulty* occasion of any of her sufferings.

To the last letter from Mr. SAVAGE, I made no written reply. Our views of the *basis* on which we were to negotiate, were so much at variance, that it was impossible we should proceed a single step. I found, to my sincere regret, that this attempt amicably and justly to close this controversy, like all my former attempts, was to prove abortive. I foresaw that such must be the issue, when the *proviso* in my proposal was rejected by Miss A. Which party in the controversy, was the faulty cause of such an issue, in this instance, the public will determine.

Several interviews, subsequent to the date of Mr. S's last letter took place between him and myself, the object of which, on my part, was to induce him to obtain, if practicable, different and more definite instructions from Miss A. under which we might yet settle and terminate this controversy, and prevent an Appeal to the public. He finally, on the 22d of December, informed me, that no other instructions would be given by Miss A. and thus this attempt at negotiation terminated.

I now resolved, as my last resort, previous to an Appeal to the public, which I considered *the last*, to address a letter to Miss ADAMS, for the purpose of frankly and fully laying before her my feelings and views, in respect to her whole conduct in this affair, and to give her one other opportunity amicably and honourably to adjust and terminate our differences. Accordingly, on the 31st of Jan. 1814, I wrote her the following letter, which she received the 2d of February.

* I here take the opportunity to state, that it was not very fair in Miss Adams, if she did it (and if not, in those who did) to select and publish in her *Reply* to my *Appeal*, this singular declaration of the Referees, by *itself*, without the following explanatory sentences. The whole read together, and in connection with the Award itself (which every other person has as good a right to interpret as the Referees themselves) would leave a very different impression on the mind, from that which was made, by the single, detached clause, which was selected. The purpose for which this was done, is as obvious, as it was *dishonourable*.

DR. MORSE TO MISS ADAMS.

CHARLESTOWN, JAN. 31, 1814.

Madam,

I have waited to know from you, through Mr. SAVAGE, whether you would give him, as your agent, such ample and definite instructions, as might enable us properly to terminate our controversy. He has informed me, that he had received no such instructions from you. This *last* effort, therefore, amicably to effect a "compromise" of our differences, on fair and equitable principles, in conformity to the recommendation of the Referees, I consider as having terminated and failed.

In this state of things, I owe it to you and myself, frankly and explicitly to state to you, the view I am compelled to entertain of your conduct toward me, in the complaints which you have so freely, extensively, and perseveringly uttered against me, and which, so far as your influence could give them effect, have proved injurious to my character.

I address you, as sustaining the profession and character of a *Christian*; and it is my intention, that you shall find nothing in my address incompatible with a Christian spirit. If the facts I state shall give you *pain*, they ought not to give you *offence*.

I begin with stating, that your complaints against me, as I believe, have never had any foundation in truth; they originated *wholly* in mistake, and misconception of facts on your part; and have been continued and magnified, through unreasonable and unchristian prejudices, generated by these misconceptions, and fostered by those, who have had an interest in lessening my influence, and have *avowedly* been engaged to effect that object. Had you, in conformity to the plain directions of the Saviour, whose laws you profess to regard, made known to *me* your complaints, in the first instance, and not to *others*, my *enemies*, they would have been instantly removed, and your mind relieved. This great and palpable error in your conduct has produced for yourself, for me, and for our respective friends, very painful evils; unchristian alienations, evil surmisings, much evil speaking, and a great waste of precious time.

I understand that you have often, to my friends, *professed* respect for my character; and you have many times, in your letters to me, and in conversation with others, expressed *concern* for my reputation. You will judge how I am constrained to view these *professions* and this *concern*, after you shall have read, what I am now about to state, for your serious consideration.

You have freely uttered your complaints against me; I have listened to them, and to the *ne plus ultra* of condescension and regard to your feelings and interests, endeavoured to remove

them. I shall now, in my turn, utter my complaints; and I address them to you directly, in the only way in which I am permitted to do it, by letter. If you are satisfied that they are just, you will promptly redress them, by giving me Christian satisfaction. If not just, you will tell me wherein I err.

1. My first complaint, which has already been intimated, is, that when you conceived you were wronged by the publication of our Compendious History of New-England, you did not immediately express to me your feelings, either personally, or by letter, that I might have had opportunity to redress your supposed wrongs, or to satisfy you that none were *intended*, nor yet *actually done* you by me. Our former acquaintance authorized you to do this; and the literary services, which (in a letter you wrote Mr. HIGGINSON, Dec. 27, 1808.) you *acknowledged* you had received from me, laid you under obligations to do me this act of justice. The law of Christ also, Matth. xviii. is explicit on this subject; this law I conceive, you have violated; and by your constant refusal of a personal interview, for the explanation of the subjects of difference between us, you have persevered in its violation.

2. I complain of your *design* in the only interview you had with me on the subject of your supposed wrongs; an interview sought by yourself. This *design* was *confessedly insidious*. You asked me a question for a purpose, which you did not intend I should perceive, which I did not perceive, and which, had I known at the time, would probably have prevented all the evils which have grown out of this affair. You authorized your attorney (F. D. CHANNING, Esq.) to state to the Referees, in your behalf, and he did it, that "your question to me, Whether I was willing you should make an Abridgment of your Summary History?" *was not to obtain my consent, but to discover whether your rights would be at all respected by Dr. Parish and myself.*"* By this you evidently leave us to infer, that you at the time of asking the question, *doubted* whether Dr. P. and myself "at all respected your rights." Your question indicated no such doubt in your mind; nor did you, by any other expression during the interview, convey to me any such idea, or that you were at all hurt on account of our publication. A quite different impression was left on my mind by your question, which I answered frankly, according to its *obvious* import. I did not suspect you capable of such *insidiousness*, as you have acknowledged. I leave it to you to justify such conduct to your own conscience; to reconcile it with the requirements of the Gospel, or to confess your fault.

3. My third complaint is, and it is a more serious one still, that you have grossly mistated and misrepresented what passed be-

* See this document in its place, p. 97.

tween us, at the interview just mentioned. Your accounts of this interview are *unfair*; you state things of *material importance*, which never passed between us, and omit others, of like importance, which did; and thus have *made up* a statement, calculated to make, and which has actually made, a totally false, and very injurious impression, on those who have read it.

The charge of *unfairness* will be supported by a comparison of your different accounts of this interview, made in your letter to Mr. SHAW, and in your statement to the Referees. The *former*, which was *private*, written *on purpose to be circulated and without my knowledge*, and which, with great difficulty, I, at last, obtained, contains several material assertions adapted to make very unfavourable impressions, which are omitted in the *latter*. This looks as if you were willing to have circulated *in secret*, what you were yet unwilling should meet my eye; what you would not pledge yourself to support before the Referees. And you say also in your letter to Mr. BATES (of Oct. 30, 1812,) in order to satisfy me, through him, as to the contents of that letter, and to prevent my further search for it, that it "is *essentially the same*, that was inspected by me, and the Referees. You would not have risked such an assertion, I presume, had you possessed, at the time, a distinct recollection of both documents.

You state things of *material importance*, which never passed between us. In your letter to Mr. SHAW, you say, "I informed him (Dr. M.) that I began my History *for the use of schools*, though the weakness of my eyes obliged me to print it in a less condensed form, than I had intended." You intimate nothing of this in the preface to your Summary History, where we might have expected it; nor in your statement to the Referees; nor did you ever to me in conversation or otherwise; nor did I know the fact, till I obtained and read your letter above named a few weeks ago. You proceed, "I informed him, that I was now preparing to execute my *original* design; that my situation rendered it necessary for me to write for a support; that I apprehended this work would hinder the sale of those copies of my History which I still had on hand, as well as prevent my publishing the Abridgment, which I had already sketched out." Nothing of all this was said at the interview, except the observation, that you had for some time contemplated abridging your 8vo. History, and had already sketched out a plan of such Abridgment, or words to that effect. Our interview lasted but a few minutes. There was not time for half you have stated to have passed. You add, "He endeavoured to soothe my mind by complimenting my publications, and said, he did not think his work would interfere with mine." The charge of flattery here made, and more explicitly in the statement to the Referees, I utterly deny. If I said any thing in commendation of your publications, of which I have not the slightest recollection, I said it sincerely, as your friend, with

no intention of giving you unmerited praise. Your mind must at this time have been strangely prejudiced, to have induced you thus to have perverted my words, if words were indeed uttered to be thus perverted. Nothing to my recollection was said of my work's interfering with the sale of either of yours. It would indeed have been incongruous with other things, which you state to have passed.

You proceed, "I then asked him" (you omit to add "*insidiously*" as you have since stated) "whether he was willing I should go on with my Abridgment?" He answered, "*Perfectly willing*, and he wished to encourage the undertaking." Here let it be remembered, you admit that I "*respected your rights*," and was at least professedly desirous to promote your undertaking. This question of yours, and my reply, as you state them, except the last clause, I perfectly recollect. I remember also, that with this very question you introduced the conversation; and that after my reply, as above, you stated that you had for some time contemplated an Abridgment of your Summary History, and had commenced it, but *that you did not wish to interfere with our work*. It was in consequence of this last observation of yours, that I observed to you, that as Mr. PARISH was concerned with me in the work, it might be proper to consult him on the subject, and to obtain his consent; You replied, "*certainly, I wish you to do it*." I promised you I would consult him, and inform you of the result, as I did afterward by letter. On this we parted.

These last enumerated facts, which are very material, and which comprise the *substance* of our conversation, you have wholly omitted, both in your letter to Mr. SHAW, and in the statement to the Referees. For what purpose, you can perhaps inform me. Of this omission I have reason to complain; as had you stated these facts, they would have accounted for my letter to you, which has been made the subject of such bitter complaints. It would have then appeared, that my letter was written *at your request, and in fulfilment of my engagement to you*. And if the part which recites *Dr. Parish's opinion*, which you wished me to obtain for you, was not agreeable to you, your candour should have at least exonerated me, as I expressed, in the same letter, my own opinion *favourable* to your wishes. But how widely different was your conduct! You proceed,

"Notwithstanding this *assurance*" (I gave you no "*assurance*" but that I would consult Mr. PARISH as above stated) "*soon after his History was out of the press*," [It was "*out of the press*" before our interview,] I received a letter from him, stating Mr. PARISH's objections to my publishing, of which I enclose you a copy," (why did you not state to Mr. SHAW, *in this place*, that you requested me to procure for you Mr. Parish's opinion?) "This so much agitated and distressed my feelings,

that I was unable to proceed in my Abridgment, until I was encouraged by the friends whom I consulted on the subject." [The "agitation and distress" and "delay" of your Abridgment lasted just *one month*, from Oct. 12, 1804, when you received my letter; to the 12th Nov. following, when Dr. PARISH called on you, and "satisfied" you! :] "I could not bear the idea of appearing arrogant and presumptuous by writing, after Mr. PARISH deemed it improper; and was, besides, intimidated by the idea that if I proceeded in my design, I might "provoke" the Rev. gentlemen to make another Abridgment. *I imagined that Dr. Morse, notwithstanding his late declaration, was averse to my publishing; but that he chose rather to have the objections appear in Dr. Parish's name, than his own.* I concluded, therefore, instead of answering his letter, to give the latter gentleman a true statement of my circumstances, and the motives that induced me to write for the press. I enclose a copy of my letter. When I was in town *last autumn*," [why did you not say, *shortly after my letter to Mr. P. was written?* this would have given a more correct idea of facts,] "Mr. PARISH called on me," [you should have here added, and brought me a letter in answer to mine; a copy of which you should have sent Mr. SHAW with yours,] "and informed me, that after he received my letter, his feelings were changed; and that the objections he had made were owing to ignorance of my situation and views; and since he knew the true state of the case, he sincerely wished me success in my Abridgment." [Why did you not improve this favourable opportunity to suggest to Mr. P. my wicked *collusion* with him, of which you more than suspected me guilty? He might have satisfied you at the moment, as to the truth or groundlessness of your suspicion.*] "This interview *acquitted him in my opinion*, and relieved my mind from a weight of anxiety, which injured my health, and retarded my publication; (*i.e. a whole month!!*) "If Dr. M. had been kind enough to have given his literary partner an account of my situation and views, this might have been prevented. I cannot think that he did as he would have wished others, in a similar case, to have done by him, in putting his work to the press, without first apprizing me of his design; and that he has treated me with that candour and generosity, which my helpless sex and dependent situation lead me to expect from a gentleman, Christian, and public teacher."†

In remarking upon this long, and very offensive paragraph, I hardly know where to begin, or how to restrain my feelings at your groundless, and, what shall I call them? your *unchristian*

* What he would have said to you, you may know from the following extract of a letter to me, written April 20, 1809, which was submitted to the Referees.

"Fully persuaded I am, that if those persons, who entertain unhappy jealousies respecting your agency in the History of New-England, *knew as I do, the rise and progress of that work, and the disposition you have always manifested respecting Miss Adams, their jealousies would subside, and instead of accusing you, they would be, as I am, my dear sir, most sincerely, your cordial friend,*

E. PARISH."

† See the Remarks on this letter, p. 23, &c.

insinuations. I refrain giving them the name they merit. The whole paragraph is calculated to make, and leave, a most false and injurious impression on the mind of the reader. I have no wonder, since reading this letter of yours, written on purpose to be circulated *privately*, that all who have seen it, and believed your representations of my conduct, should have thought me a kind of *Monster*, and have shunned me as such. Were your representations true, they would be justified in doing it. After all the attentions and services, I had cheerfully and gratuitously, for a series of fifteen years, rendered you and your deceased parent, (whose estate is now indebted to me,) I little suspected that in return for all my kindness, you were capable of *privately* circulating such slanderous charges against me, and thus stabbing my character in the dark.* Even had your charges been true, as they are false, and could they have been supported by the best evidence, as they are without *any*, in this case you would, on Christian principles, have been wholly unjustifiable in propagating them in the manner you have done. It is not likely that I should ever have been permitted to see them, but for the circumstance that your letter, *the very one now before me*, was put into the hands of one of my *faithful* friends, *on purpose to destroy her confidence in me*,† who felt it to be her duty to inform me of your

* Miss Adams in her letter to me (p. 190.) from a high sense of gratitude to her friends, for their kindness to her, manifests extreme sensibility, on account of my "*reflections*" upon them, as she was pleased to style them. This is a virtue highly to be commended. It would have evinced a *consistency* of character in Miss A. in this respect, had she manifested the same *grateful* and *commendable* sensibility, while writing her letter to Mr. Shaw, in reference to the character of one, who had probably rendered her as many services, as any of her present friends, and who had done nothing which could justly be construed in a way to impair such sort of obligations, or render it improper to manifest similar sensibility. How then must such direct contrary treatment be viewed by a correct mind?

† Since the above paragraph was written, and the first paragraph on p. 99. was printed, an explanation has taken place, relative to the facts stated in the passages alluded to, the result of which, as I am desirous of stating every thing *exactly*, I think it proper here to mention, though the differences do not at all affect the points which these facts were introduced to establish.

Miss Adams had herself no hand in sending her letter to Mr. Shaw, to this "female friend of mine" for the purpose stated; nor had she any knowledge at the time, that it was thus sent. Nothing of this kind is asserted by me, nor did I ever suppose that *she* had done it. I said "it was sent for by a person *whom I could name*." This is not exactly correct. My friend *herself* sent for it, in consequence of hearing the person, who I had supposed sent for it, state a part of its contents, which were contradictory to statements which I had just made. The *purpose*, therefore, for which my friend sent for it, could not be the one, which I have stated. Her design, as I always supposed, was *friendly*. The truth is just this. Mrs. Morse and myself, on a visit to this friend of ours, just after the *Reference*, when our minds were impressed with the subject, stated to her pretty fully the facts in the case. This was done in the hearing of "*the person whom I could name*," and who I supposed had sent for Miss A's letter. This person had seen this letter in Boston, and was "*surprized*" at the difference between my statement, and that of Miss A. in this letter. The mind of this person, as I have reason to conclude, preponderated in favour of the correctness of Miss A's statement. Be this so or not, Miss A's statement was sent for by "my friend." She read it. I say (p. 29.) that "it had but a *partial* effect on her fair and friendly mind." So I had apprehended. But I am now authorized to say, that it "gave her almost an *entire different view* of the subject," which lasted from July 1809, to Nov. 1812, when an inspection of the documents changed her mind on a single point only, respecting Dr. Parish. Her mind still remains impressed in the manner it originally was in every other respect.

charges. In this way, more than *eight* years after it was written, I came to the knowledge of your letter.*

To show the total incorrectness of your statement, it is only necessary briefly to give the true one.

The very short interview, of which you speak, took place in the crowd, as we were coming out of Thursday lecture, about the middle of Sept. 1804, just *after* our Compendious History was published, and advertised for sale. At this time, as you then told me, your Abridgment was *unwritten*; the "plan of it only was sketched out." Immediately after our interview, *at your request*, I wrote Dr. PARISH, at Byefield, received his answer, and on the 26th Sept. wrote you *his objections*, *at his request*, as is stated in my letter, which conveyed them to you. You received my letter the 12th Oct. following, and the day after (the 13th) you wrote to Dr. P. which he did not receive till the 9th Nov. The 10th he wrote his answer, came down immediately after, showed me his letter, (which I entirely approved) carried it to Boston, on the same day, and gave it to you himself, and by your own acknowledgment *satisfied you* of his innocence, as to any intention to infringe your rights, or wound your feelings. I had not, at this time, the slightest suspicion, that I had given you offence, and therefore supposed all was well. Nor, as respected the state of *your mind* toward me, had I any other idea, till more than *four years afterward*. Such are the facts and circumstances, out of which you have made your representation. It was in these circumstances, that you "*imagined* Dr. M. notwithstanding his late declaration," (a declaration which I had repeated to you in my *offensive* letter) "*was averse to my publishing*," (i.e. I expressed to you *repeatedly*, what my heart did not feel, or, in plain language, *a deliberate FALSEHOOD*) "*but that he chose rather to have the objections appear in Mr. PARISH's name than his own*"!!! I forbear to comment on this gross, most injurious, and totally groundless insinuation. It provokes language, which it does not become me to use to one of your sex. I will only express my perfect astonishment, and deep regret, that a woman of your character, should have deliberately written such a sentence, (and that too shortly after your *satisfactory* interview with Dr. P.) of one, who was unconscious at the time of ever having given you the smallest offence; who never wronged you, but had done you many kindnesses; and that you should have written this, moreover, for the express purpose of being shown among my respectable acquaintances, in order to excite their compassion, and

I have only to add, that this letter was received by my friend, under *no injunction of secrecy*. Her own *discretion* led her to say to me, that she was "not at liberty to show it to me;" viewing me as a party, she thought it would be "a breach of confidence," to put it into my hands.

* I mean a knowledge of its contents.

draw forth their charity for you, as an *injured woman, cruelly deprived of your rights*, your hard earned support; and all this *by me*, a MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, who had no temptation to such oppression, but *selfishness and avarice!!!* Such were the representations of my conduct toward you, made by Mr. HIGGINSON, with your express approbation, to the Referees; representations probably drawn from the very letter on which I am now commenting. No wonder your mind should be "agitated" when you seriously reflect on this treatment of one, who never injured you, or that you should be unwilling to see and converse with me on the subject; or that you should so often have wished to have no more said or written upon it.

4. My fourth complaint is, that you have, in an unbecoming spirit and manner, refused, perseveringly, (probably through ill advice) all overtures, on my part, to obtain an amicable explanation and adjustment of our differences. My overtures, by our mutual friend, Mr. E. you treated with a neglect, in my opinion, irreconcilable with the spirit of Christianity, for more than *five months*; and then requested your agent to write me in a *style of reproof*, for having neglected to fulfil my duty to you; and without any warrant from the Award of the Referees, to demand of me "money" as a *compensation* for the pretended injury done you by our History. This offensive application was made too, at a time when it was known, that my health was extremely feeble; when I was on the eve of my departure on a long journey, for my recovery; and I had already as much care and solicitude, as I could sustain. I could consider it in no other light than as adding cruelty to insult.

Our correspondence, since Oct. 1812, will show how you have treated subsequent overtures for the settlement of this frivolous controversy.

5. I complain of the manner in which you have *written and spoken* of my treatment of you, to your friends. I have now before me a letter of yours, to Mr. HIGGINSON, (which probably you never meant should meet my eye, though it was exhibited by Mr. H. to the Referees) dated Dedham, Dec. 27, 1808, in which you say, "It has been my uniform opinion that he, (meaning myself) has treated me *ungenerously*; yet I am ready to admit the only apology I can make for him, which is, that *he wants that delicacy of feeling*, which would enable him to form an adequate idea, how deeply his conduct must wound the feelings of an helpless and DELICATE female." I am truly sorry that you should have so far lost a sense of the *delicacy* belonging to your sex, as to have penned such a sentence. Can you mention a single transaction of mine, *correctly* stated and understood, that can justify you, in any degree, in writing thus concerning me? Had you, in the spirit of a Christian, frankly told me wherein you felt yourself hurt at my conduct, you would have been prevented from doing me and yourself this injury. Till I received

this letter of yours to Mr. H. and that to Mr. SHAW, within a few weeks, I had no conception of what you had been doing to injure my character, and to excite and cherish the violence of my opposers, under the garb of sympathy for you. I had supposed you far more innocent, than I am now constrained to believe you. My letter to the Referees (which they have my leave to put into your hands, if you have not already seen it,) will show you in what light I have been accustomed to view your conduct.*

In this place I mention a fact, which I learn from the letter of Mr. H. just alluded to, *viz.* your sending him your letters, written to Dr. P. and myself at Beverly, but "*never sent to us.*" If you thought it proper, by the advice of your friends, not to send these letters to us, and thus have given us an opportunity to answer, and satisfy your complaints, at the time; you had no right, on Christian grounds, nor on the ground of common justice and civility, to send them to any other person; especially to our enemies, to use against us without our knowledge. I consider this conduct as altogether unjustifiable. Your uniform error, in this business, has been, complaining to *others*, and not to *us*, of your supposed injuries, and refusing all proffered explanations on our part. This has been the source of all the evils which have grown out of this affair.

You have not only *written*, but have *spoken* to some of your friends (probably to many of them) in a manner, which has left wrong and injurious impressions on their minds, concerning my treatment of you. Particularly you have left on their minds distinctly, by your representations, that I had had in my possession your Abridged History of New-England, in *MS. before mine was published*, and that I made a dishonourable use of it. In consequence, and on this account solely, some of these persons, who were previously my friends, were alienated from me; among these too were members of my own congregation, and church members. Similar impressions, I apprehend, must have been made on the minds of Mrs. GUILD and her son, from whom came the story, or, to give it its proper name, the baseless and *base falsehood*, of which Dr. HOLMES informed you in his letter of Aug. 15, 1805, and which you contradicted in your answer to him; which falsehood, though a thousand times contradicted, is yet in extensive circulation as *a truth*, and is still believed by numbers, even in Boston, and among your *supporters and friends!!* I know not how to account for this conduct in you, that you should converse *in such a way*, as to leave very injurious impressions concerning me, which, when *you yourself* are called upon to explain, have been, *by your own declarations*, entirely effaced. And this I know to have been the case in regard to more than one person. Is this ingenuous? is it honourable to your Christian character?

I omit to mention some minor, yet important subjects of complaint, having already protracted this letter to a greater length than I intended. It affords me no gratification, it gives me much pain,

*See p. 135.

to write you in the style of the foregoing letter. But I felt it to be my indispensable duty, as an injured man, and as a Christian minister, whose character, through your instrumentality and misrepresentations, has been grossly slandered, frankly and faithfully to state to you, for your *serious consideration*, these my complaints of your conduct. You will now have it in your power to remove the grounds of these complaints, by satisfactory *explanations* or *concessions*, in such manner, as shall effectually do away all *false impressions*, (impressions made by a correct statement of *facts* I fear not. I know they cannot injure my reputation with *candid minds*) on the minds of your friends, and enable me to do the same in regard to mine, and thus repair, as far as you can now do it, the injury you have done me.

In regard to the *Award*, which has received so many *different* and *opposite* interpretations from the Referees and others, I will only say, that I consider myself as having *honourably* fulfilled every obligation to you imposed by the Award, when, immediately after it was given, I made you the overtures by our mutual friend, Mr. E. and which you saw fit to reject. In this opinion I am supported by a large number of the ablest lawyers and divines in our country. All that I have since done, in order, *if possible*, to bring this business to a just and amicable issue, has been *gratuitous* on my part. In my last attempt to settle this controversy through your agent, Mr. SAVAGE, I considered (and my most judicious friends are all of the same opinion) "that I had exhausted the last drop in the cup of condescension and conciliation." If an *Appeal* shall hereafter be made to the public, and a full history of our controversy, and of your conduct toward me, be laid before them, your refusal to do me *justice*, will have rendered *necessary*, on my part, so unpleasant a measure. To such a measure I have long been advised by judicious counsellors. I have borne, till I had laid before you the facts and complaints contained in this letter. This is my last *direct* effort to settle the controversy with you.

You are at full liberty to show this letter to your friends. I address it to your sense of justice, and to your Christian feelings. You will answer, or remain silent; I shall take my future course accordingly. I am, madam, with due respect, your humb. servt.

J. MORSE.

After waiting twenty days for a reply, I concluded Miss A. had determined to make none, and to treat this letter, as she had done my overture by Mr. E. with contemptuous silence and neglect. In consequence, I made and published the "APPEAL," which appears in the beginning of this pamphlet.

Here ends the history of a TEN YEARS controversy with Miss H. ADAMS, on the subject of a *supposed* interference with her *rights*, the *injury* from which to her interests, she herself esti-

mates at "A DOLLAR," uncertain, however, whether even this sum be "more or less" than its real amount!! I am not sensible that a single *fact* or *document*, necessary to enable the reader to form a correct judgment on this controversy, has been omitted. If there be any such omission, it has been unintentional on my part, and I shall be glad to have such omitted facts, or documents, supplied by Miss A. or her friends.

The obvious nature of this controversy, its long continuance, the diversity of shapes which it has assumed, and the manner in which it has been managed by my adversaries, in order to accommodate it to their purposes, together, furnish a sufficient apology for the frequent repetition of the same facts and reasoning in different stages of the controversy, and for any unimportant diversity in the exhibition of these facts, occasioned by the different circumstances and connections, in which they have been introduced. Owing to these things, it has not been an easy task to prepare a faithful, perspicuous, and full digest and history of this controversy.

I offer no apology for the style, shape, or length of this controversy, or for the size of this pamphlet. The documents which it contains, with few exceptions, were not written for the public eye; were penned in haste; and were the unstudied, unornamented utterance of the feelings and sentiments of their respective authors, at the times in which they were written. In regard to the shape and length of this controversy, and the size of this book, I have had no choice left to me. I have acted on the *defensive*, as circumstances and duty from time to time seemed to me to require; and have made my book no larger than was necessary to comprise a fair and complete history of what has been done.

I have only to add, in view of the preceding facts and documents, my

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

1. From a candid and careful examination of the preceding documents and observations, I feel confident, that there must result a conviction in the mind of every unprejudiced person, who shall have given them such examination, that there never has been any *substantial* ground for controversy between Miss A. and myself; that she has in fact suffered from Dr. PARISH and myself, no infringement of her *rights*; no injury in her *interests*; no diminution of her literary reputation; no inattention or disrespect, of which she has had any just reason even to *complain*, (especially after the explanations she has received from us;) much less to found a *claim* on us for *pecuniary* or any kind of *substantial and valuable* compensation. I say this, in full belief that it is strictly the truth.

2. From an examination of the documents relative to the REFERENCE, to the Award of the Referees, their explanations of their own Award, the explanations given by other gentlemen, and

all the proceedings, on my part, with a view to ascertain the true meaning of the Award, and honestly, honourably, and faithfully to fulfil its requisitions, it will be found, I apprehend, that I stand fully acquitted before the public; that I have done enough, and far more than could reasonably have been required, in the existing circumstances, to satisfy the mind of Miss ADAMS, and the unauthorized demands of those who have advocated her cause. And that if there has been any misapprehension, on my part, of the real views and meaning of the Referees, it should be ascribed to the ambiguous, indefinite, inexplicit phraseology, which they have thought it proper to use in their Award, and in their subsequent explanatory communications; and not to any want of disposition in me, honourably to conform to their judgment. If their Award has not been correctly understood, and honourably satisfied, I feel conscious, that in this case, no blame can justly attach to me, and I trust also that the public will so judge.

On these grounds, reserving to myself the right, should the exercise of it become necessary, to reply to any additional or contrary statements of Miss A. or her friends, I *terminate*, on my part, and *for ever quit*, the controversy with Miss HANNAH ADAMS. I leave her in the full and unmolested possession of *all her rights*; with her interests unimpaired,* and with all the reputation she ever had; except what she has seen fit voluntarily to sacrifice, to subserve her own personal interests, and the views and designs of my *real* adversaries in this controversy.

3. If the premises stated in the two preceding articles be correct, then, what I have uniformly asserted, will appear very evident, viz. that the complaints and accusations of Miss ADAMS, and the *pretended* injuries she has received from Dr. PARISH and myself, have never been the *real cause* of this controversy; but a *cover* only, ingeniously and artfully fabricated, to *conceal* this *cause*.

4. From the facts and documents contained in the preceding pages, the public, I apprehend, will be at no loss to determine what has been the *sole operative cause* of this controversy. This *cause* has indeed already been repeatedly alluded to,† and is none other, than the *decided stand*, which I felt myself conscientiously bound to make against that powerful and overbearing influence, which was exerted in effecting the election of the Rev. Dr. WARE, to his present office of Hollis Professor of Divinity in the University at Cambridge, and which has operated since in completing an important revolution in the religious character of that ancient and venerable Institution. Had I not taken this stand, in the first instance, before the Board of Overseers; nor afterward in my own defence published my "TRUE REASONS" for opposing the election of Dr. WARE; nor taken the active part I did subsequently

* See p. 120.

† See pages 27. 32, Note. 33. 36. 55. 68. 75. 93 and 135.

in the establishment of the PANOPLIST, and the THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION, at Andover, and in other measures, which I conceived to be important and necessary for the defense of the assailed interests of what I consider *the orthodox faith*; there would, as I firmly believe, have been no controversy between Miss HANNAH ADAMS and myself. There would have been no interruption, on my part, of friendly offices to her, as an author, in the preparation and disposal of her works. Her fears and complaints, which have been wrought up and magnified into such serious importance, would have early reached my ear, from herself directly, or from some friend, and been immediately removed. She would have needed neither the sympathy, nor the aid of those friends, who have, with no small trouble to themselves, and to others, and with some expense, voluntarily yielded her so much of both. And all the labour which has been employed, the time which has been wasted, and the guilt which has been incurred, in unworthy attacks on my reputation, would have been spared.

Such, as I have now expressed, was my opinion at the commencement of this controversy. I have been confirmed in its correctness, by the facts which are now before the reader. In this opinion, the candid, unprejudiced portion of the public, who shall have examined these facts, I trust will agree with me. The controversy, in truth, is a great and important *religious* controversy, on points which affect the vital interests of Christianity. The affair of Miss ADAMS, and all other matters of the like kind, which have been got up and magnified into importance, have been made *incidental* merely; *means* only to an *end*; weapons of warfare, fabricated to wound an advocate of the orthodox faith, and through him, to wound the cause which he advocated.

The unfairness, I may be excused, I think, in saying, the *meanness*, of this mode of conducting an important controversy, cannot but excite strong feelings of displeasure and indignation. It is altogether unworthy of a fair and noble mind. It indicates that the ground, which requires to be defended by such weapons, and in such *disguise*, is indefensible by *fair* argumentation.* If there must be a contention, a "striving together for the faith of the Gospel," which I conceive has become unavoidable, in consequence of the great and bold defection from this faith in this region within a few years past, let it be a fair and manly contention. Let the points in controversy be stated with clearness and precision. Let every combatant exhibit his true colors. Let none but the Christian armour be employed in the contest. Let a Christian spirit animate and govern the whole. From such a controversy we should have nothing to fear, but much to hope, in support of the cause of evangelical truth.

* The preceding and subsequent remarks are to be understood and applied in the manner, and with the qualifications, prescribed in the Note, p. 57. which the reader is requested here to peruse.

But a controversy conducted in this manner, on both sides, in respect to the great doctrines which now divide the religious public in this region, is rather to be wished, than expected. It would indeed be a novelty in the history of the Christian church. The spirit of Arianism, or, which is the same thing, of Unitarianism, as it is now named, or of opposition to the doctrines of the SACRED TRINITY, and the DIVINITY of JESUS CHRIST, which, for many years past, has been gradually, and, after its usual manner, *covertly*, spreading in this portion of the Christian church, has not, in former ages, been friendly to fair discussion; and the facts now before us, and others which are well known, furnish no evidence that its character, in our times, and under its new name, is changed for the better. What this *spirit* was, we learn from Ecclesiastical History. MILNER, one of the most laborious and faithful writers of this species of history, has exhibited a series of *facts*, to show "what sort of fruit was anciently produced by *Trinitarian*, and what by *Arian* principles;" and what kind of spirit animated the one and the other of these classes of Christians.* I shall here introduce a few facts from the history just mentioned, analogous to those which have been stated in the preceding pages, and which exhibit the spirit which is beginning to show itself openly and boldly among us.

"The repeated attempts of the adversaries of Athanasius at length so far prevailed in prejudicing the mind of the emperor, that he ordered a synod to be convened at Tyre, not to examine the *principles* of the bishop, which even his adversaries had been obliged to admit; but to institute an inquiry, whether various *crimes*, with which he was charged, had been really committed.

"The heaviest crimes were charged upon Athanasius, rebellion, oppression, rape, and murder. But every thing appeared to be the result of malice. One case alone shall be mentioned, by which a judgment may be formed of all the rest. He was said to have murdered Arsenius, a Meletian bishop; for proof of which the accusers produced a box, out of which they took a dead man's hand, dried and salted, which they affirmed to be the hand of Arsenius, and that it was preserved by Athanasius for magical purposes. The Meletians charged Arsenius to conceal himself till they had effected their purpose. The party of Eusebius of Nicomedia spread the report through the Christian world, that Arsenius had been privately murdered by the bishop of Alexandria, and Constantine himself, overcome by incessant importunities, was induced to order an inquiry to be made.

Athanasius had learned by his own experience, that any accusation against himself, however *improbable*, was likely to find nu-

* The reader, who wishes to inform himself of these facts and of this *spirit*, is referred to Milner's History of the Church, Vol. II. chapters III. and IV. I would recommend these interesting and seasonable chapters strongly to the attention of all, who wish to understand this controversy. See also Vol. I. p. 451, and 455.

merous and powerful supports. But Providence wonderfully confuted this attempt. Arsenius, notwithstanding the directions of the accusers to keep close, had privately conveyed himself to Tyre, intending to be secreted there during the whole time of the synod. It happened, that some servants belonging to Archelaus the governor heard a rumour whispered, that Arsenius was in town. This they immediately told their master, who found him out, apprehended him, and gave notice to Athanasius. The Meletian *tool* unwilling to blast his employers, and feeling the awkwardness of his situation, at first denied himself to be Arsenius. Happily Paul the bishop of Tyre, who knew the man, deprived him of that refuge. The day of trial being come, the prosecutors boasted, that they should give ocular demonstration to the court of the guilt of Athanasius, and produced the dead hand. A shout of victory rung through the synod. Silence being made, Athanasius asked the judges, if any of them knew Arsenius? Several affirming that they did, Athanasius directs the man to be brought into the court, and asks, Is this the man whom I murdered, and whose hand I cut off? Athanasius turns back the man's cloak, and shows one of his hands; after a little pause, he puts back the other side of the cloak, and shows the other hand. "Gentlemen, you see, said he, that Arsenius has both his hands: how the accusers came by the third hand, let them explain." Thus ended the plot to the shame of the contrivers.

That any persons, who bear the name of Christ, should deliberately be guilty of such villany, is grievous to think. But let it be remembered, that the real faith of Christ was opposed by those, who were concerned in this base act, and that *enmity to the doctrine of the Trinity produced it*. The story itself deserves also to be preserved as a memorable instance of the interposition of Divine Providence.

Notwithstanding the clearest proofs of Athanasius's innocence, and that the whole course of his life was *extremely opposite to such crimes as he was charged with*, his enemies prevailed so far, that commissioners were despatched into Egypt to examine the matters of which he was accused.

Egypt, where Athanasius must have been best known, was faithful to her prelate. Forty-seven bishops of that country entered a protest against the injustice of the council, but in vain. The Arian commissioners arrived at Alexandria, and endeavoured to extort evidence against him, by drawn swords, whips, clubs, and all engines of cruelty.* The Alexandrian clergy desired to be admitted to give evidence, but were refused. To the number of fifteen presbyters and four deacons, they remonstrated, but to no purpose. The Maræotic clergy took the same steps, but to no purpose. The delegates returned with extorted evidence to

* Epist. Synod. Alexan. Athan.

Tyre, whence Athanasius, who saw no justice was to be had, had fled. They passed sentence, and deposed him from his bishopric."*

"From the year 337 to the year 361, a controversy was carried on between the church and the heretics, by arms and resources suited to the genius of the parties; those of the *former* were prayers, treatises, and preaching; of the *latter*, policy, intrigue, persecution, and the friendship of the great. The most zealous supporters of anti-scriptural sentiments seem far more disposed to cultivate the favour of *men of rank*, than to labour in the work of the ministry among the bulk of mankind."†

"The pagans took courage, and assisted the heretics in the persecution, saying, *the Arians have embraced our religion.*‡ A bishop was found worthy to support these proceedings, George of Cappadocia, who began his usurpation in the year 356. Through his influence, supported by the secular arm, the friends of the Nicene faith were cruelly beaten, and some died under the anguish. A sub-deacon having been severely scourged, was sent to the mines, without being allowed time to dress his wounds, and he died on the road. Venerable aged bishops were sent into the deserts throughout Egypt, and *Arianism* reigned and *glutted itself in blood*. The episcopal office was sold to unworthy men; the profession of *Arianism* being the only requisite for the office.¶

Such was the spirit and conduct of Arians in ancient times, whenever their influence and power were dominant in the Christian church. And from what we have witnessed in our own times, such, we have reason to believe, would be the spirit and conduct of modern *Arians*, or *Unitarians*, should they ever acquire, which may God forbid, a dominant influence in this Christian community.

The spirit and artifices of modern Unitarians in this region, have been manifested in acts of persecution, not only against me, personally, in the instances brought into view in this pamphlet, and in many others, which I omit here to specify, but which I may have occasion hereafter to state; but also against Rev. Mr. CODMAN,§ the Theological Institution at Andover, Park Street Church in Boston, and its Pastor, the Rev. Dr. GRIFFIN, in the recent attempts to prevent his obtaining a seat at the Board of Overseers of the College. In these prominent instances, and in many other ways, visible to attentive observers, has this spirit shown itself in occurrences of greater or less interest in this region, particu-

* Milner, p. 73. to 81. Vol. II. † Ibid. p. 86. ‡ Athan. ad Solit. ¶ Ibid. p. 98.

§ In reference to the sufferings of Mr. Codman, a very respectable and amiable divine, a distant observer only of his severe trials, in a letter to me, dated Dec. 3d, 1812, writes thus. "Brother Codman too, is in the fire. Amid all the forms of *bigotry*, let me be saved from the bigotry of the *liberal*. Give it scope, and no doubt, for malignance and ferocity, it would beat *popery* all hollow."

larly for the last twenty years. The same scenes which were acted in past ages of Christianity, when heresies had obtained any considerable degree of influence in the Church, are acting over again in our times, wherever the like heresies have been introduced and obtained the same degree of influence. As human nature remains the same corrupt nature still, like causes will at all times produce like effects. Those who in different ages shall rise up openly and boldly to defend the truth against prevailing errors, may always expect to receive the like treatment from their adversaries. In times of trial and persecution for the truth's sake, there will also always be found, even among its friends, many of a faint heart, and of a timid and fearful spirit; some who will stand aloof in the day of battle. And it would not be singular, if some were to be found, who, instead of strengthening, comforting, and encouraging those who are willing to suffer in the cause of truth, will, by distant silence, reserve, and coldness, sink their spirits and chill their efforts. In the progress and event of this controversy, I hope I may not have occasion to repeat, as my own experience, an observation of a late acute, and distinguished moralist and eminent divine, made in his own case; an observation not very honourable to human nature, *vis.* "That the rage of enemies is always more active and more lasting, than the affection of friends." He adds; "It often happens, that some who are very much pleased to find one stand forth as a champion for their opinions, whether religious or political, and ready to go, as it were, to the front of the battle, when their enemies, smarting with the wounds he has given them, traduce and vilify his character, these esteemed friends often, in a great measure, give it up, and discover much complacency and satisfaction with themselves, that they had acted in a wiser, more prudent and cautious manner."

5th. In the preceding documents will be found, if I mistake not, abundant evidence, that the University at Cambridge has, since the death of the late learned, amiable and excellent President WILLARD, and his equally worthy contemporary, Professor TAPPAN, undergone an entire and very important revolution in its *religious character*. This is a fact, which I trust no one will undertake to deny. By those who have effected this revolution, and who now control this institution, the change alluded to will be admitted, and probably gloried in, as a great improvement. They doubtless so consider it. But others, who, I trust, are yet the great majority in New-England, who maintain, as the truth, the same faith with that of the pious and venerable Founders and subsequent Benefactors and Patrons of this Seminary, as well as of its successive Instructors and Governors down to the late President WILLARD, have very different ideas on this subject. They consider this change, as an unauthorized, *unconstitutional*, and very injurious *perversion* of the funds of the institution; as subverting the great and pious designs of its Founders and Bene-

factors; as converting the means which they had provided in their solicitude for the welfare of their posterity, by their sacrifices and their prayers, for the support of what they considered the *pure faith* of the Gospel, into means for *undermining* and *overthrowing* this very faith; as seizing by stratagem the Armory, which they had established and furnished for the defence and security of Zion in this New World, and employing all its means for these purposes, to mar her beauty, destroy her foundations, and to lay her waste.

Such views have some, probably most of the orthodox, of this revolution; and with such views, they cannot contemplate its effects, which are becoming continually, and in various events, more and more visible, without the deepest concern; and I hope I may add, without the determination, on their part, to make the most vigorous and persevering exertions, by all lawful and *proper means*, to provide some effectual remedy against so great, so radical, and alarming an evil. The friends of the orthodox faith will prove themselves unworthy of their ancestors, should they silently and pusillanimously witness such corruption in the fountain of science, so piously established by them, whence our churches are to be supplied with Pastors, and the Commonwealth with legislators and magistrates. If poison be suffered to remain in the fountain, till the whole mass becomes impregnated, the streams must flow polluted, and the health of the community, watered by these streams, be necessarily impaired, and ultimately destroyed. If the fruits of this defection be such as we have witnessed during the first ten years, what are we to expect will be the religious principles of the next generation? If such is the *infancy* of Unitarianism among us, what will be its *manhood*?

Should I be asked, whence these fears? Why this alarm? Where are the evidences of this defection from the ancient faith; of this threatening change in the religious character of the College? I direct such inquirer to the evidence furnished in the preceding pages. I point him to the *ANTHOLOGY*, a work edited and patronized by the leaders of the party, who effected this revolution, and which ultimately sunk under the weight of its own sins. I point him to "*the General Repository and Review*," the successor of the *Anthology*, possessing the same character and spirit, differing in little else than in its size and its name, and issued from the *very walls of the College*, edited by one of its officers, and supported by others of that body. I risk nothing when I assert, that the religious principles advocated in these works, are in *direct hostility* to the faith of the Founders of the College, and to that of a very large part of its respectable, and liberal benefactors; and that one object of these publications was, and is,* to *oppose*, to render odious and ridiculous in the view

* See the last Number of the Repository, (No. VIII.) p. 403. 404.

of the public, and, were it possible, to overthrow this faith, and to introduce in its place, what the orthodox have always considered, *another Gospel*.

I point him also to the "*Improved version of the New Testament*," as it is styled, an edition of which has been published and sold in Boston, under the auspices of those, who have a controlling influence over the College. These publications, without adverting to other facts, which exist in abundance, sufficiently indicate, that a great and important change has taken place in the religious character of the University; and they indicate also, the nature of that change. The tree is known by its fruits; the fountain, by its streams.

To its character and state in any *other* respect, than that of *religion*, my observations are intended in no way to apply. I can, and I trust do, distinguish and approve every thing relating to that very important Institution, which is commendable and useful. It is the influence which it has exerted, and will continue to exert, under its present administration, upon those DOCTRINES of the Gospel, which constitute the great foundation of practical religion; it is this influence on these doctrines, (which will be increased by all its literary reputation and great wealth,) that I deprecate, as one of the greatest evils in prospect, which can befall New-England. Wherever these doctrines have been, and shall be maintained, and inculcated, strictness and purity of life and manners have been, and of consequence, we may presume, will be exhibited, as their natural effect. So far as *religion* has been concerned in forming the character of New-England, faith in these doctrines has produced the practical influence which has formed it. On the contrary, where these doctrines have been either neglected or disbelieved; much more where they have been openly denied and opposed, and lax opinions, and a "pretended theory of moral virtue" substituted in their place; the tone of morals has been lowered, and a deluge of profanity and immorality in practice, has immediately and invariably followed.

Lest I should be charged, as I have been indeed very unjustly, with *intolerance*, in consequence of the manner in which I have advocated the orthodox faith, and spoken of its opposers, I here declare, and I think the declaration fairly reconcileable with every thing I have said, that however fixed may be my own faith, in any system of religious truths, the right of private judgment and freedom of inquiry, I would wish should ever remain sacred and inviolable. In perfect consistency with this fundamental principle of protestantism, errors may be freely exposed, their apprehended consequences pointed out, and the public warned against them.*

* The first Christians, with the purest charity to the persons of heretics, gave their errors no quarter, and discountenanced them by every reasonable method. The heretics, on the contrary, endeavoured to unite themselves with Christians. If the same methods be at this day continued, if the heretic endeavour to promote

I go still further. Had the party, who planned and executed the revolution in the College which we have been considering, left that Institution to proceed on the foundation upon which it was originally established; had they permitted its liberal benefactions to be employed for the purposes for which the pious Donors bestowed them, and with their *own* boasted wealth, learning, and talents,* established, endowed, and organized a University on a plan suited to their new opinions; this would have been fair and ingenious. And, however I might have lamented the prevalence of error, which the existence of such an institution would have indicated, and might have felt it to be my duty, by all proper means, to oppose such error, I certainly should have been one of the last men in the world, to have obstructed, by any such means as they have condescended to use in another case, the establishment of such an Institution. No; it is because this party, finding themselves in possession of the power, have taken this "*little ewe lamb*" of our pious forefathers, which they "bought and nourished up, and it grew up together with them, and with their children," and was very dear to them; and, "sparing to take of their own flocks, and their own herds," covetous of their own wealth; sacrificed, and "dressed it," to gratify their lust of domination, and their pride of opinion; and to aid them in accomplishing their designs against the faith of their ancestors. It is of this *unjust*, this *disingenuous* conduct of which we complain.

6. It was from the apprehension of such effects from the prevalence of Unitarian doctrines among us, as have been brought into view in the preceding articles, and of the use that would be made of this revolution in the University, as to its religious character, to produce these effects, which led me, in the first instance, to oppose this revolution in the manner I did; and by all the measures since adopted, to persist in this opposition. The same apprehension has induced me to make this publication, for the purpose of exposing, as fully as I am able, and thus endeavouring to check, and as far as in me lies, to prevent these effects.

I take this last step, as I did the first, at the election of Pro-

his false religion by pretended charity, and the Christian stand aloof from him, without dreading the charge of bigotry, each act in character, as their predecessors did. The heretics by weakening men's attachment to Christ, and the schismatics by promoting a worldly and uncharitable spirit, each did considerable mischief; but it was the less because Christians carefully kept themselves distinct from the heretical, and thus set limits to the infection.

It has been of unspeakable detriment to the Christian religion, to conceive that all who profess it, are believers of it, properly speaking. Whereas very many are Christians in name only, never attending to the nature of the Gospel at all. Not a few glory in sentiments subversive of its genius and spirit. And there are still more who go not so far in opposition to godliness, yet by making light of the whole work of grace on the heart, they are as plainly void of Christianity. Milner's Church History, Vol. I, p. 146.

* See p. 75. note.

fessor WARE, in full view of *some*, at least, of its consequences, in respect to myself. The alienation and neglect of men of eminent standing in society, whose talents and virtues I had been wont to respect, whose hearts and influence were engaged to effect this revolution, I anticipated in the first instance; and my expectations have been realized. But the attacks which have been made by them upon my *moral* character, I did not expect. My feelings would have revolted at the anticipation of such treatment, from such characters. Till I was actually called to witness, and to feel the effects of this sort of conduct, I would not believe them capable of it. This experience has taught me what I have now to expect. My sufferings from these unworthy attempts to take from me my good name, and from the various and combined efforts to supplant my Geographical Works, and to lessen their reputation and sale, which I have endured in great part in secret and in silence, have not been inconsiderable. To what extent my adversaries may have it in their power hereafter to increase these sufferings, either of the one kind, or the other, now that the contest is transferred from *ambushment*, to the open field, cannot be foreseen. This advantage, not heretofore enjoyed by me, I shall have in future; the public now know, what they have not known till now, the CAUSE of this controversy, and how it has been conducted hitherto, and will witness for themselves its future course, should it be continued. My adversaries will no longer be able to take shelter behind the *shield*, which they have till now opposed to me. She is, I trust, safely removed from future dangers. They must now expose themselves in the open field in their own persons.

From this conflict, though I am aware that the whole strength of the opposition will now be called into action, I have no disposition to shrink, whatever may be my future sufferings. My great solicitude is, that I may be always guided by that unseen, unerring Hand, which manages all things in a right way; and that if I must suffer, it may be for "*well doing*." What I may endure in the short remains of life allotted me in this world, is of small moment, provided, through my sufferings, dangerous errors shall be in any degree exposed and checked, and the cause of evangelical truth be promoted. To serve and defend this cause, if my heart deceive me not, and for *no other purpose*, I engaged in this controversy, which has now become public; and for the sake of this cause, have I pursued it, in the manner I have done to this time. I have conscientiously endeavoured so to conduct it, through every step of it, in the extremely delicate, difficult, and oft-times distressing circumstances, in which I have been placed by my ingenious and powerful adversaries, as that, in the reflection, my heart should not reproach me so long as I shall live; nor upon the bed of death; nor at the tribunal of my final Judge.

APPENDIX.

THE following *Communication* was sent to the editors of the "General Repository," at the time of its date. One number of that work has since appeared, and this communication has been passed by without publication, and without notice. I simply state these facts to the public, and give them the Communication itself, and leave them to form their own opinion of the *principles*, which must have actuated the "*liberal*" conductors of that work.

The communication itself, and the treatment which it has received, furnish striking specimens of the *gentlemanly manners* of some of the conductors of the present religious controversy, on the part of the *Unitarians*.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE GENERAL REPOSITORY AND REVIEW.

Gentlemen,

In the number of your work for April, (Art. 8th, p. 387,) is the following passage. "She, (meaning Miss H. ADAMS) has at times experienced the *calamities of Authors*. Her equitable claims to profit, were at one time cut off, not having been duly guarded, in consequence of her own want of experience, and not having been duly allowed, in consequence of mercenary cupidity." [The Reviewer,* in the above sentence, is supposed to allude to a transaction with a certain bookseller, the particulars of which are unknown to the writer.] "And again she was in danger of being *supplanted* in a fair and useful undertaking, by a *sort of literary craft, alike ungenerous and dishonourable*." In this sentence the Reviewer is known to have referred to the conduct of the Authors of the "Compendious History of New-England."

In the last No. of your work, for July, (p. 222,) is the following sentence. "The name of the *Collector of these stories*, (meaning one of the Authors of the above named Compendious History,) has, we believe, been connected with that of Miss ADAMS, and with some transactions relating to this work (meaning her Abridged History of New-England) in a manner *not quite so honourable to his character*."

Such dark and calumnious insinuations, introduced gratuitously and *unnaturally*, into the places which they occupy; and evidently designed to hold up to public reproach, as far as such insinuations can do it, the characters at which they are aimed, cannot impart credit to a work, which, like yours, makes high pretensions to *respectability* and *liberality*; nor reflect any honour on the understandings, or dispositions, of their petulant authors. These insinuations are exhibited in a cowardly manner; in a form, adapted to

* PROFESSOR WILLARD.

make, in reference to those against whom they are aimed, an unfavourable impression on the minds of those of your readers, who are not acquainted with the state of facts; but a form so indefinite, as to be incapable of particular refutation. All, therefore, that is necessary, or practicable, indeed, to be done, in regard to these insinuations, is to say, and I venture to say it without fear of contradiction, that they have *no solid foundation*, that *no facts exist which authorize them*, and, of course, that they are *FALSE and slanderous in their nature*, "*alike ungenerous and dishonourable*," and *DISGRACEFUL* to the characters of their Authors.

If these Authors, or either of them, feel themselves injured by the above charges, and will definitely state any *supposed facts*, which, in their opinion, authorize their insinuations, and will *give their names* with such statement, the writer of this article pledges himself, notwithstanding, to support his assertions with his name, as above stated. If after this public challenge, these calumniators remain silent, or shall continue to utter their slanders, while they refuse the sanction of their names, the public will, of course, be just, and infer *their guilt*, and the *innocence* of those whom they thus *slanderosly* accuse.

As you have opened your pages to receive what some of your readers deem calumnious insinuations, you will not surely refuse, gentlemen, promptly to insert the antidote now offered against their baneful influence, and thus oblige

One of the authors of the Compendious History of New-England.

SEPT. 7, 1813.

P.S. The anonymous writer of "*notice of some publications in the Panoplist*,"* is informed, that "*the person who went about to collect these stories*," produced by the Editor of the Panoplist, in support of his charges against the patrons of the Improved Version, could tell *one story* about this business, and that only a simple, unvarnished *narrative of all the facts* which relate to it, which would make this anonymous writer blush, if he be capable of blushing, for his impudence, and for the depravity or stupidity of his own mind, which he has betrayed, by perverting such facts, to so mean a purpose. If, Mess^{rs} Editors, your correspondent wishes to see a narrative of these facts, and you will give it a place in your work, it shall be furnished minutely and faithfully, with *the names* of all concerned. If it should not much *edify*, it would at least *amuse* your readers.

I add one other remark on the communication before me. The Editor of the Panoplist thought it fit to charge the "*liberal party in Boston and the vicinity*," with having "*exerted themselves much, to obtain a circulation*" for the "*Improved Version*."

* See Repository, July, page 218, 221, &c. and Panoplist, Vol. IX. p. 168, &c.

This was resented by some of the respectable clergy of Boston, and vicinity, who considered themselves as belonging to that party, as a *gross slander* upon their characters; and the writer of this article was authorized to contradict the charge, as *false*, so far as they were concerned, and to request the Editor of the *Panoplist* to contradict it in his publication.

Now the anonymous writer, above mentioned, informs "the collector of these stories," (p. 221.) that the gentleman who imported the 100 copies of this "Improved Version," for *free distribution*, (his character for charity forbids our supposing it could have been for any other purpose) is "a man distinguished for his acts of charity and munificence," of which this importation of 100 copies of the "Improved Version," was doubtless one. Now why this gentleman should be so highly commended for doing the very thing, and in a more exceptionable form too, which the respectable clergy of Boston resent, when imputed to them, as a "gross slander," and injurious to their characters, is not easy for us to determine. Surely an act of this kind, which respectable clergymen deem *slandorous*, when imputed to them, would not, in ordinary cases, be deemed an act of commendable "charity and munificence," when done by a layman. Probably the parties thus put in opposition to each other, will not thank your correspondent for placing them in such a situation. We leave it to his ingenuity to vindicate himself, by reconciling these seeming inconsistencies.

FINIS.

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